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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1963

EDITED BY
DR. Z. A. DESAI

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1965

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1963

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR ?

By Dr. Qeyamud-Din Ahmad[1]

This unpublished inscription of Sikandar S̲h̲āh of Bengal (1357-89 A.D.) was first brought to public notice by Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur. On reading a report in one of the English dailies of Patna about this important discovery—it may be remembered that not a single inscription of that monarch has so far been discovered in Bihar—I started correspondence with Shri Singh requesting him to let me copy the inscription. He very kindly acceded to my request and I accordingly took an estampage.[2] I am deeply obliged to Shri Singh for his co-operation.

The inscription is quite clear and legible. It commemorates the building of a mosque by Ulug̲h̲ Ṭag̲h̲ī K̲h̲ān, son of Bug̲h̲rā K̲h̲ān, in 1367 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar S̲h̲āh, son of Ilyās S̲h̲āh. There are one or two points of interest about the text and its arrangement, but the main point of interest is the provenance of the inscription. We shall, however, first give a description of the inscription and a reading of its text.

The text is inscribed on a black basalt slab of rectangular shape measuring 76 by 40 cm. which is divided into two equal halves by a flat horizontal line in relief. The right half of the slab is broken into four pieces but Shri Singh with whom the tablet now lies has got them joined together with chemical solution. Fortunately, no part of the text has been rendered illegible because of this damage. The text is written in three lines the first of which occurs in the upper half and the remaining two in the lower half.

The style of writing of the record is *Nas̲k̲h̲*, broadly conforming to the style of the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal but with a tendency towards cursiveness. Also, there is at least one orthographical omission ; the *alif* of the word *al-jannah* in the last line has been omitted, inadvertently perhaps, by the engraver. It may also be pointed out that the record fails to give any title of the king. In view of the fact that his coins and inscriptions quote the title ' Abu'l-Mujāhid'[3] it is very likely that the engraver omitted the word ' ابو ' before ' المجاهد ' in the first line. Another peculiarity about the text of the record is that the well-known *Ḥadīt̲h̲* about God's reward to those who build mosques comes after the main text and not before as is usually the case.

---

[1] Dr. Qeyamud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Ph. D., Department of History, Patna University.

[2] The inscription was copied subsequently by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur. It is listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1962-63 under No. D, 17.

[3] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), Nos. 45-62; S̲h̲amsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajshahi, 1960), pp. 34-38.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(۱) بسم الله خير الاسماء بناهذا المسجد فے عهد السلطان المجاهد سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان صاحب

(۲) البناء خانكبير و تهمتن بينظير الغ طغيخان بن بغراخان ادام الله معاليه اصرف ماله برضاء ؟

(۳) الله تعالى ـ قال النبى عليه السلام من بنے مسجدا فے دار الدنيا بنے الله له قصرا فے [ا]لجنة فے الغره من المحرم سنه تسع و ستين و سبعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the best of names. This mosque was constructed in the reign of the sulṭān, warrior in the cause of religion, Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh. The master of

(2) this charitable deed (i.e. the builder) is the great Khān and the unrivalled general, Ulugh Ṭaghī Khān, son of Bughrā Khān, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. He spent his money for seeking the pleasure of

(3) Allāh the Exalted. The Prophet has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the abode of this world, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'. On the 1st Muḥarram (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtynine (1st Muḥarram A.H. 769=28th August 1367 A.D.).

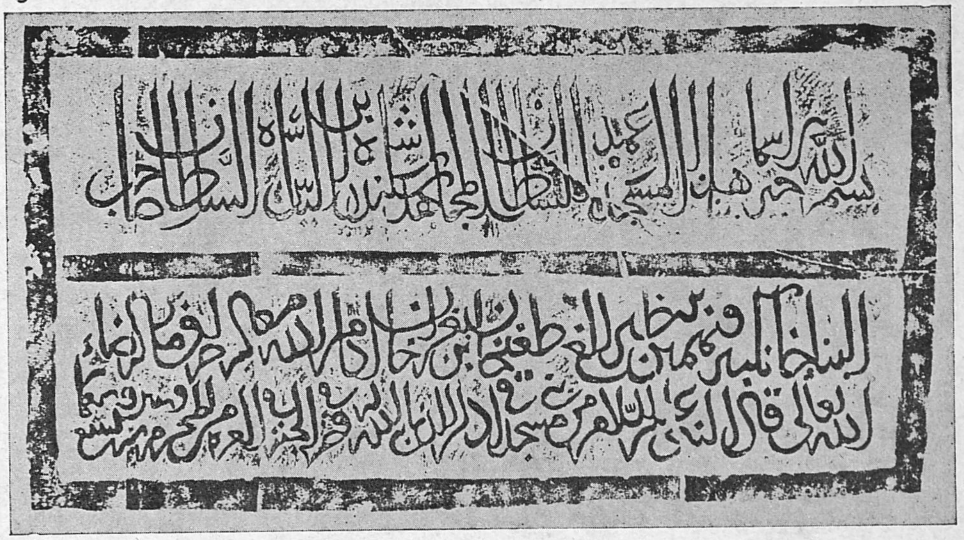
Nothing is known about the two personages, Ṭaghī Khān or his father Bughrā Khān mentioned in the inscription. But there should be little doubt that Ṭaghī Khān was a high official acting perhaps as the head or commander of a region, as is implied by the titles used for him.

However, as will have been surmised by the query put against the title of this article, the main point of interest about this inscription is in regard to its provenance. Shri Singh, the discoverer of the inscription, was himself rather reticent when I asked him about the actual findspot. He simply said that it was found by some one in Champanagar, a suburb of Bhagalpur, without specifying the place or monument. He also did not say anything about the owner or the manner of the find. The queries as to whether it was lying detached or it was in some mosque or private house, etc., remained unanswered. At one stage Shri Singh thus wrote to me in the course of a letter regarding the findspot: 'Like most of the inscriptions of the Turko-Afghan period found in Bhagalpur, *the original location of the stone tablet of the time of Sikandar Shāh discovered by me is unknown. It might have come from Amarpur*[1] *Police station or might have been somewhere in Champanagar. I found it in Champanagar.*'[2] But later, in his article on the inscription which is shortly to be published, Shri Singh stated that the slab was found in the premises of Shri R. N. Ghose, an ex-landlord of Champanagar.

[1] Amarpur is situated about 16 miles south-west of Bhagalpur.

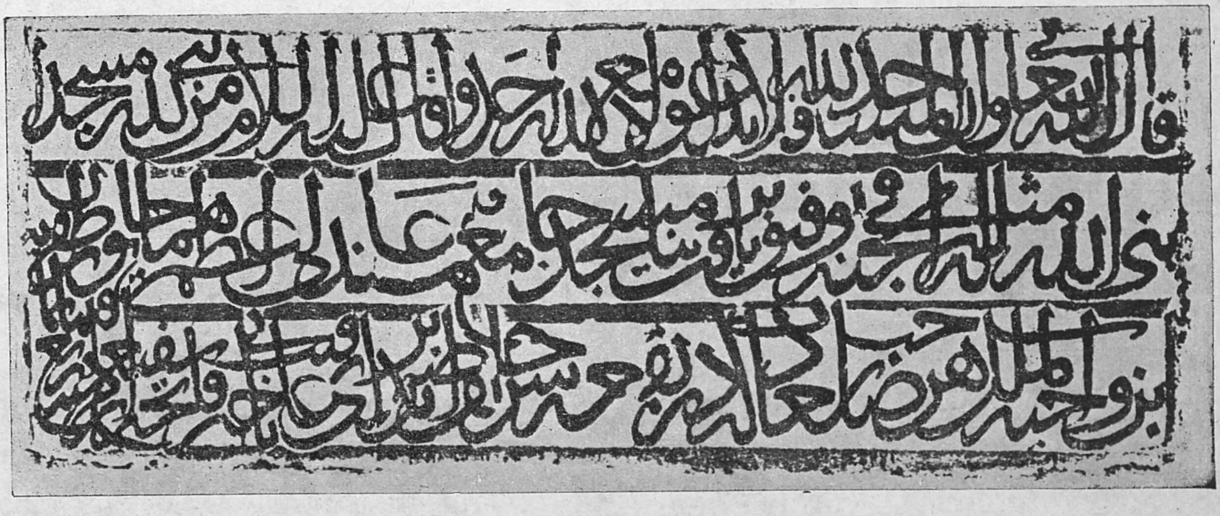
[2] Italics mine.

(*a*) Inscription of Sikandar Shāh, dated A. H. 769, from Champanagar (p. 2)



SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Inscription of Muẕaffar Shāh I, dated A.H. 804, from Munjpur (p. 6)



SCALE : ·25

If we accept the provenance of the inscription as given by the discoverer to be correct, it will lead to certain conclusions which are of great significance in the political history of Bihar in the mid-fourteenth century. For it will mean that sometime after Fīrūz Tughluq's expedition against Sikandar Shāh (1357-58 A.D.), the latter resumed initiative and recaptured part of Bihar. However, this conclusion, tempting though it is, does not fit in with the known outlines of the political history of the period based on important contemporary evidence.

Fīrūz Tughluq's two expeditions against Bengal during the reigns of both Ilyās Shāh and Sikandar Shāh are well-known.[1] It is also definitely established that he annexed Bihar from the Bengal rulers. Fīrūz Tughluq's inscriptions in Bihar, totalling eleven, are the largest among all the pre-Mughal rulers. These range, with some gaps, from A.H. 761 to 774 (1359-1372 A.D.) and testify to the continued existence of his rule over Bihar. It may be contended that all these inscriptions belong to South Bihar, and therefore, the Tughluq hold was probably confined to that region and that North Bihar, which was militarily more susceptible to a Bengal attack, might have been re-occupied by the Bengal rulers. But this contention, too, is controverted by the recent "re-discovery" of a very important inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq in village Tajpur-Basahi in District Saran.[2] This inscription commemorates the construction of a fort by Mukhliṣ Dā'ūd Khānī in A. H. 774 (1372 A.D.). This is an unimpeachable evidence of the continued political hold of Fīrūz Tughluq over North Bihar also.

The Tajpur record was inscribed fifteen years after Fīrūz Tughluq's expedition against Sikandar Shāh. The latter's inscription is dated 1367 A.D. Even if we assume that Sikandar Shāh re-occupied part of North Bihar after Fīrūz Tughluq's expedition of 1357-58 A.D., how are we to account for the Tajpur inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq ? There is absolutely no evidence to the effect that Fīrūz Tughluq had to re-occupy North Bihar after 1357 A.D. It is also to be noted that inscriptions of Fīrūz's successors, Muḥammad Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh, bearing as late a date as A.H. 810, have been found in Bihar at Bihar Sharif, Maner and Kako.[3] The only valid conclusion, therefore, would be that the Tughluq hold over both North and South Bihar continued uninterruptedly from 1357 to 1372 A.D. and till much later.

Corroboration of this fact which is clear enough from the inscriptions themselves is provided by the near-contemporary and valuable testimony of Mullā Taqiyā. He has clearly stated that after the expulsion of Ilyās Shāh by Fīrūz Tughluq, Bengal lost its hold over Bihar for over a full century and that it was only Bārbak Shāh who in A.H. 875 (1470 A.D.) re-occupied part of North Bihar. Although the Tughluq hold over Bihar weakened during the concluding years of the dynasty, it passed not to the Bengal rulers but to the Sharqīs of Jaunpur. Mullā Taqiyā's statement on this point is worth quoting, in English translation, in full :—

"Although Fīrūz Tughluq had earlier overpowered Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Dīn Ilyās Shāh and had brought the kindgdom of Tirhut under his control, later on it became an appanage of the Sharqī kingdom. Still later, after 121 years, in A.H. 875, Ruknu'd-Dīn Bārbak Shāh having gathered together the Bengal Afghāns prepared a multitudinous army for the conquest of the Tirhut king-

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[1] Sir J. N. Sarkar, ed. *History of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 106-12.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 25. This inscription was first noticed by W. Hoey who described it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXIX (1900), p. 79. However, he could not decipher it and consequently failed to identify the name of the king. An old estampage of this inscription lying in his office was identified by the Superintendent, Persian & Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur and on an enquiry from him as to whether the inscriptional tablet still existed, I visited the place in August 1962 and obtained its estampages.

[3] *ARIE*, 1952-53, No C, 6 ; *ibid*, 1953-54, No. C,100 ; *ibid.*, 1955-56, Nos. D, 80, 86 ; *ibid.*, 1960-61, No. D, 5. These have been edited in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1951 and 1952, p. 15, pl. VIIIa; *ibid.*, 1955 and 1956, p. 10, pl. IIc; and *ibid.*, 1961, p. 30, pl. VIIIa, p. 33, pl. Xc, p. 34, pl. Xb.

dom which was under the occupation of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī, and after many a battle the former became triumphant. He brought Hajipur and its environs under his direct control as was the arrangement under Ilyās Shāh, and gave the areas north of Burhi-Gandak to the Rājas of Tirhut and nominated Kedār Rāi as his agent in this region.''[1]

The above account is clear and needs no comment. The Sharqī hold over part of North Bihar is also testified to by the now lost inscription of Ibrāhim Sharqī which referred to the construction of a mosque in Darbhanga in A. H. 805 (1402 A.D.). This inscription was seen by Taqiyā who has quoted its full text.[2]

How then we are to explain the reported discovery of Sikandar Shāh's inscription in a place in north-eastern Bihar ?

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to remember that instances are known of inscriptions from one place being carried, deliberately or accidentally, to another place. The transfer of the Aśokan pillar edicts to Delhi by Fīrūz Tughluq is of course a well-known example, though of long past. One of the more recent examples is that of an inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, dated A.H. 914 : originally belonging to Malda, it now adorns the entrance of the beautiful guest-house in the compound of the Qila House in Patna city, whose ex-owner, the late R. K. Jalan, was a well known lover and preserver of historical relics. How the slab came to be there is, however, not known.

It is the sacred duty of all students of history to examine all connected factors having a bearing on the conclusion of a new theory which they seek to propound. However tempting the significance of a new theory might be, the thorough and dispassionate scrutiny of the premises on which it is based should be given first and foremost priority.

---

[1] Ilyās Raḥmānī, ' 'Aḥd-i-Islāmī men Darbhanga par ek Majmū'ī Naẓar', *Mu'āṣir*, Patna, May-June, 1949, pp. 100-101.

[2] *Ibid.*, The text is :

قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بیتا فی الجنة بنی هذا المسجد

فی زمن الامام نایب الخلیفة امیر المومنین ابو الفتح ابراهیم شاه السلطان خلدت خلافته سنه

خمس و ثمانمایه

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

This article, a continuation of my study of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of pre-Mug͟hal Gujarat,[1] is intended to be supplementry to the article on the inscriptions of the Sultanate period, and should now account for all the inscriptions of the sultans of Gujarat that have come to light so far. There are still in the province a considerable number of unpublished inscriptions dating from the fourteenth century onwards which have been discovered and listed in recent years by the Archaeological Survey of India, but their detailed study has been left out for the present as they do not contain the names of the reigning monarchs.[2] All the same, they are important in some respect or the other and will be taken up, time and space permitting, in due course.

In the following lines I have dealt with thirtytwo epigraphs, mostly unpublished, found at various places in the state.[3] They represent all the sultans except Muḥammad S͟hāh I, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad S͟hāh II, Maḥmūd S͟hāh II, Sikandar S͟hāh, Aḥmad S͟hāh III and Muẓaffar S͟hāh III.[4] The largest number of these inscriptions i.e., twentytwo, register the construction of mosques, in one case along with a fort and in another with a well. Among the rest, one commemorates the building of a fort, two of step-wells, and one of a well; two contain texts of royal orders, one is an epitaph, and two refer to the construction of some edifices. The remaining one being fragmentary, its purport is not clear. The earliest and the last dates of these records are A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.) and A.H. 946 (1539 A.D.) respectively.

The importance of these epigraphs cannot be overstressed: They have preserved the names of quite a few notable personages—noblemen, administrative personnel, saints, etc.—who are otherwise unknown. Among these personages are: Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd; K͟hān-i-A'ẓam Asad K͟hān; K͟hwāja K͟hāṣṣa, son of Wajīh, *ḥājib* (chamberlain) of the court; Maliku'l-Umarā Malik Marjān Sulṭānī; K͟hān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl K͟hān; K͟hwāja 'Alī K͟hān; and Maliku's͟h-S͟harq S͟hams, son of Mubārak, entitled S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk. While it is not so specifically mentioned, it stands to reason to hold that these men enjoyed highest official status in the regions where these records are found. On the other hand, there are some whose official status is specifically mentioned, e.g. Karīm, son of K͟husraw, *mutaṣarrif* (accountant) of the *s͟hiq* of Asāwal (modern Ahmadabad); Malik K͟hūs͟hbās͟h Sulṭānī, *kotwāl* of the province (*'arṣa*) of Gujarat; Maliku's͟h-S͟harq Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, *nāib* (deputy) of the king; Malik 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla (modern Patan); Budh, son of Kamāl, royal *aslaḥadār* (arms-bearer); Malik Aman, *muqṭi'* of Cambay; Malik Sirāj, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla; and Jamāl, son of Fatḥu'llāh, *alias* Malik Mak͟hdūm, *nadīm* (boon-companion) of Maḥmūd S͟hāh I. As against these, only two of the nobles mentioned in these epigraphs are wellknown; K͟hān-i-A'ẓam Ulug͟h K͟hān and Malik Sārang entitled Qiwāmu'l-Mulk.

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1953 and 1954, pp. 49-77; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 1-24; and *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1-40.

[2] These have been listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*) from the Report for 1952-53 onwards.

[3] A few of these have been either briefly noticed or published in original or translation as will be indicated in the proper places.

[4] It must be remembered that no epigraph of Muḥammad I, Maḥmūd II, Sikandar and Muẓaffar III has been found so far.

Of the two saints referred to in these epigraphs, Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Multānī (d. 1336 A.D.) is well-known, but Shaikh Muḥammad Turk of Kāshghar owes his name exclusively to one of our records. In addition, a few more personages are mentioned in these epigraphs but they do not merit any particular attention except perhaps Nākhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, on account of his profession : obviously a ship-master, he is mentioned as an employee of Khān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl Khān, a fact which may imply the private ownership of ship or a fleet of vessels by the nobility.

Palaeographically, there is nothing more to be said about these inscriptions than what I have already stated elsewhere.[1] But a few words may be said about the language. Almost all the inscriptions of the sultans so far published re in prose, the language being either Arabic or Persian. But in the present group there are epigraphs composed in verse, the earliest of which are dated in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh I, the founder of the dynasty. Also, the present study discloses the fact that the inscriptions of the Gujarat sultans were not composed almost exclusively in Arabic as was generally believed hitherto. With these prefactory remarks, I proceed to study these inscriptions which are arranged chronologically under the respective monarchs.

Ẓāfar Khān or Muẓaffar Shāh I

I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 804 FROM MUNJPUR

Munjpur, situated in 23°35′ N. and 71°50′ E., was once the headquarters of a *pargana*,[2] but is now reduced to a small town in the Sami *tāluka* of the Mehsana district. It lies at a distance of 24 miles south-west of Patan. Its only surviving relic of earlier times is the Jāmi' mosque of some architectural pretensions.

This epigraph was listed by Cousens who did not give any particulars thereof,[3] while the district gazetteer briefly reported it to contain 'the name of Ẓafar Khān, son of Vajihul-Mulk'.[4] But no attempt was made to copy it until 1961, when Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant of my office, toured north Gujarat in search of inscriptions.

The inscription is carved in relief on a slab measuring 64 by 36 cm. which is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the said Jāmi' mosque.[5] It runs into three lines of writing, part of which comprising religious texts is in Arabic. The historical portion which is in Persian assigns the construction of the mosque to Masnad-i-'Ālī A'ẓam Humāyūn Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, in 1401-02 A.D. The style of writing is ornamental *Naskh* with *Ṭughrā* flourishes.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(۱) قال الله تعالے و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام من بنے لله مسجدا

(۲) بنی الله له مثله فے الجنة توفیق یافت بر بنا[ی] مسجد جامع مسند عالی اعظم همایون ظفر خان

---

[1] *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

[2] Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), pp. 407, 425, 426 ; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, Supplement (Baroda, 1930), pp. 203-04.

[3] H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), p. 230.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer* (*BG*), vol. V, Cutch, Palanpur and Mahi Kāntha (Bombay, 1880), pp. 343-44.

[5] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 67.

(۳) ابن وجیه الملک هر صاحب سعادت که در بقعه شریف حاضر آید برای عاقبت خیر بانی فاتحه شفیع آرد سنه اربع و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh the Exalted has said, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[1] And (the Prophet), on whom be peace, has said, ' He who builds for Allāh a mosque,

(2) Allāh builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' For the construction of the Jāmi'-Masjid, blessed was with divine guidance Masnad-i-'Ālī A'ẕam Humāyūn Ẕafar Khān,

(3) son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk. Every fortunate person who visits this noble abode should by reciting *fātiḥa* invoke prayers for the good end of the builder. (In) the year (A.H.) four and eight hundred (A.H. 804=1401-02 A.D.).

II. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 806 FROM KAPADWANJ

This inscription is fixed into the northern wall of the courtyard of the Jāmi' mosque at Kapadwanj situated in 23°1′ N., 73°7′ E. in Kaira district.[2] This ancient town mentioned by Arab writers[3] seems to have been the headquarters of an administrative unit during the Sultanate period as is indicated by inscription No. IX, *supra* ; it also finds frequent mention in historical works.[4]

The tablet (96 by 50 cm.) containing this epigraph is evidently not *in situ* since the text refers to the construction of a fort.[5] The inscription consists of seven verses in Persian and one line in prose carved in the left border, and states that Ẕafar Khān, ' the minister of the east and west ' laid foundation of a strong fort which was completed in 1404 A.D. We are also told that the fort was built at the request of Karīm, son of Khusraw, the *mutaṣarrif*[6] (accountant) of the *shiq* of Asawal. According to an epigraph found at Harsol in Sabarkantha district, Karīm was also responsible for the construction of a fort at that place in the following year.[7] The Harsol inscription and the one under study are not only alike in their execution but their texts are also identical except in the portion indicating the date.

Since nothing is known about Karīm from historical works except that he was one of the nobles who revolted against Aḥmad Shāh I immediately after the latter's accession,[8] these two records provide at least this information that Karīm was the *mutaṣarrif* of the *shiq* of Asāwalin

---

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 48.

[3] For an account of Kapadwanj, see *BG*, vol. III, Kaira and Panch Mahals (Bombay, 1879), pp. 171-73. Some useful references will also be found in S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 67.

[4] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 80, 111, 203, 399, 400, 408, 425, etc.

[5] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 94, states that there are three inscriptions in Arabic on a mosque at Kapadwanj. He evidently refers to the Jāmi' mosque. But this monument has only one more inscription, also in Persian verse, recording the construction of a mosque in 1370-71 A.D. (*EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 17-18).

[6] For the duties, etc., of the post of *mutaṣarrif*, see I. H. Quraishī, *Administration of the Delhi Sultanate* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 208-09.

[7] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 40. This inscription, now deposited in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, was edited by me in the *Bulletin of the Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda*, vol. X-XI (1953-1955), pp. 59-61.

[8] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

A.H. 806 and 807. Another interesting feature of these records is the mention of Asāwal in the immediat evicinity of which Ahmadabad was founded within less than a decade. While it is not possible for want of sufficient data to define its boundaries as they existed then, it is evident from these two documents that the shiq of Asāwal must have extended to the town (and perhaps *pargana*) of Harsol in the north and Kapadwanj in the east.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its calligraphical style. The ornamental *Naskh* employed here is similar to, though not so fine as, the Baroda inscription of Ẕafar Khān.[1] Its text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(c)

(۱) بنیک طالع فرخنده مه همایون سال — بسعد اختر و میمون زمان و فرخ فال

(۲) ببهترین بلاد و بنغز تر جائی — بنا نهاد حصاری چنین بدیع مثال

(۳) وزیر مشرق و مغرب الغ ظفر خان انک — مظفر ست بر اعدا[ی] دین همه احوال

(۴) فلک جناب ملک قدر آسمان رتبت — گزیده طبع و ستوده صفات خوب خصال

(۵) چه سان حصار که بر داخلش ملک آرد — نوید من دخله کان امنا فی الحال

(۶) تمام گشت بماه رمضان و بوده است — ز هجرت نبوی هیصد و ششم از سال

(۷) بنا[ی] عمر و اساس مراد بانی باد — قوی چو سبع شداد و متین چو قطب شمال

In the left border.

فرمایش کریم خسرو متصرف شق اساول

TRANSLATION

(1) At the fortunate juncture, (in the) auspicious month (of the) blessed year, at the lucky time, august period and happy omen,

(2) at the best of places and choicest spot, such a fort, the like of whom is rare, was built

(3) by the minister of the East and West, Ulugh Ẕafar Khān who is victorious over the enemies of the Faith in any eventuality (and who has)

(4) heaven as threshold, dignity of angels, position of sky, select mind, praiseworthy qualities and excellent habits.

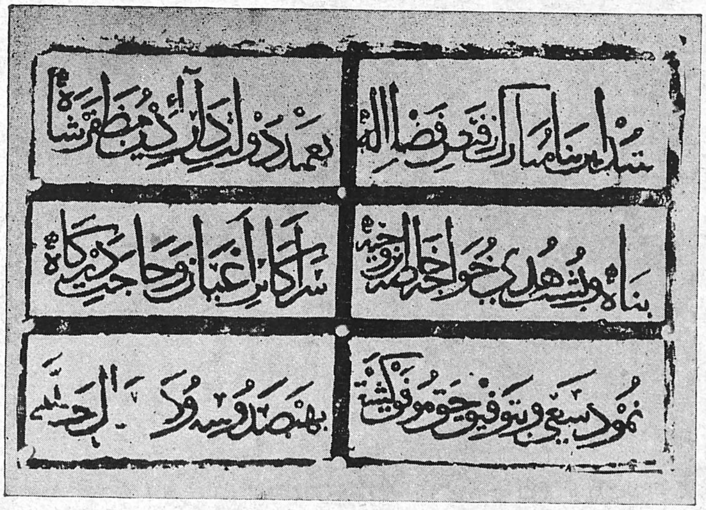
(5) What a (wonderful) fort (it is) that at its entrance, the Angel at once delivers the good news of 'He who enters it is safe'.[2]

(6) It was completed in the month of Ramaḍān and it has been from the Migration of the Prophet eight hundred and sixth year (Ramaḍān A.H. 806=March-April 1404 A.D.).

[1] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1939-40, pl. II.

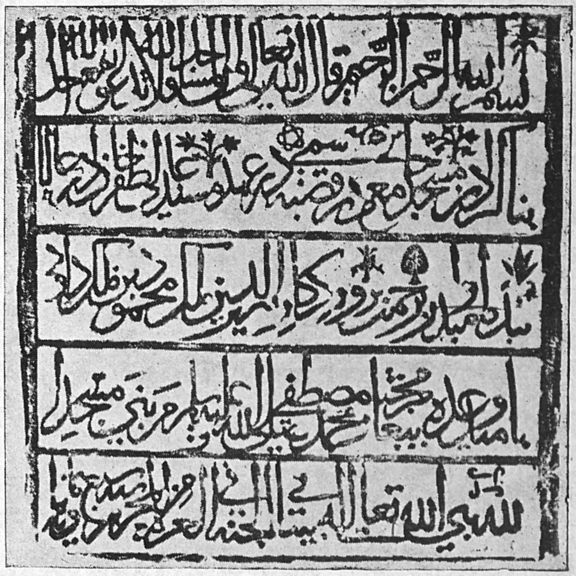
[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter III, part of verse 97.

(*a*) Inscription of Muẓaffar S͟hāh I, dated A.H. 813, from Patan (p. 13)



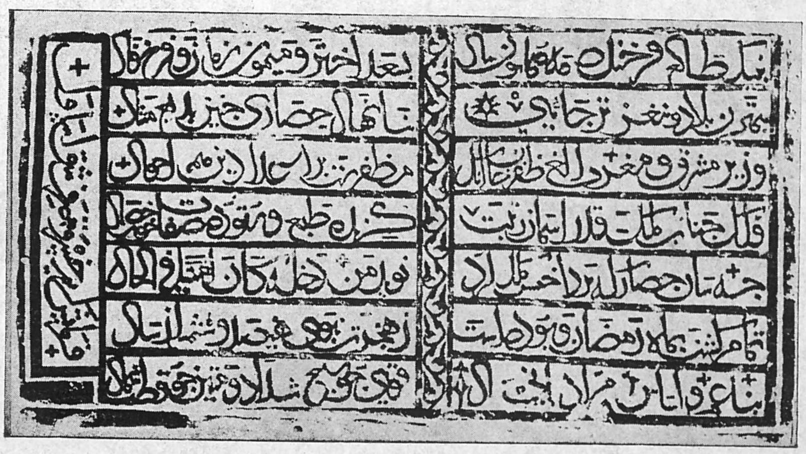
SCALE : ·18

(*b*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 807, from Sami (p. 9)



SCALE : ·12

(*c*) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 806, from Kapadwanj (p. 8)



SCALE : ·1

(7) May the foundation of the life and basis of the aspirations of the builder be as strong as Seven firmaments and as firm as the Pole star !

In the border.

At the request of Karīm Khusraw, *mutaṣarrif* of the *shiq* of Asāwal.

III. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM SAMI

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 57 by 59 cm. and is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi‘ mosque at Sami, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Mehsana district.[1] Sami situated in 23°40′ N. and 71°40′ E. was, like Munjpur, the seat of a *pargana* during the Sultanate period.[2]

The record consists of five lines of writing which except for the religious texts is in Persian. It states that the Jāmi‘ mosque of the *qaṣba* of Samī was constructed in 1404 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-‘Ālī Ẓafar Khān by Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd. The identity of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd cannot be satisfactorily established. Our epigraph is the only source to quote his name in full. One Maḥmūd Dā'ūd *salāḥdār* is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* in connection with Aḥmad Shāh's invasion of Idar not long after his accession.[3] In all probability he is identical with Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd, of our record. Of course, historical works do mention more than one Malik Maḥmūd,but without parental name, in connection with the events of the period : a Malik Maḥmūd Bargī (or Turkī) was among the nobles who rebelled against Aḥmad Shāh I immediately after his rise to kingship. He was subsequently despatched in A.H. 820 by Aḥmad Shāh against Malik Naṣīr of Khandesh who had beseiged Sultanpur near Nandarbar.[4] The name of Khān-i-A‘ẓam Maḥmūd Khān also occurs in the same connexion.[5] Then there is Malik Maḥmūd whose son Malik Dāwaru'l-Mulk was a prominent noble of Maḥmūd I ; he must have flourished at about the time of our record. It is difficult to say in the absence of details, if these persons are quite different from one another.

The style of writing of the record is *Naskh* of the same type as in Inscription No. I. It is very likely that both were designed by the same calligraphist. Its text is deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۲) بنا کرد این مسجد جامع در قصبه سمے در عهد مسند عالی ظفر خان دام عالیا

(۳) بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار نصیر الدین ملک محمود بن ملک داود

(۴) بامید وعده پیغامبر محمد مختار مصطفے صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا

(۵) لله بنی الله تعالے له بیتا فے الجنة فے الغره من المحرم سنه سبع و ثمانمایه

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1 *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 69.

2 Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 455, etc. ; ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 203. For an account of Sami, see *BG*, vol. V, pp. 347-48.

3 Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* (MS), pp. 101-02 ; Dr. S. C. Misra, *The Rise of the Muslim Power in Gujarat* (Bombay, 1963), p. 172.

4 Sikandar, *op cit.*, p. 48.

5 *Ibid.*

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[1]

(2) This Jāmi' mosque was constructed in the *qaṣba* of Samī during the regime of Masnad-i-'Ālī Ẓafar Khān, may he remain exalted for ever,

(3) by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Naṣīru'd-Dīn Malik Maḥmūd, son of Malik Dā'ūd,

(4) in the hope of (the fulfilment of) the promise of the chosen prophet Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, (contained in his tradition), ' He who builds a mosque

(5) for Allāh, Allāh the Exalted builds for him a house in Paradise '. On the first of Muḥarram year (A.H.) seven and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A.H. 807=10th July 1404 A.D.).

IV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM CAMBAY

The present epigraph is carved in relief on a loose slab preserved in the tomb of Qābil Shāh situated opposite to the Police Office near Prince Mahdī 'Alī Khān park at Cambay in Kaira district.[2] The tablet does not belong to the tomb which is uninscribed, and it has not been possible to trace its findspot. Its text was quoted by Cousens who unjustly condemns it as ' about the worst of the lot both in calligraphy and in style' . Needless to say, the reading prepared for and published by him is most corrupt. To quote only one example, he gives A.H. 775 instead of A.H. 807 as its date.[3]

The text consists of five lines in Persian prose and verse, and records the construction of a mosque in 1405 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-'Ālī Ẓafar Khān by Malik Khūshbāsh, *kotwāl* of the province (*'arṣa*) of Gujarat. Since Malik Khūshbāsh is mentioned in the text as a slave of the late Fīrūz Tughluq, it is likely that he had come to the province along with Ẓafar Khān. Malik Khūshbāsh is not mentioned in historical works, and therefore, the present record is quite important. His designation, *kotwāl* of the whole province of Gujarat, is again interesting.

The inscriptional tablet measures 60 by 45 cm., and the style of writing is *Naskh*.

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) بناکرد این مسجد بنده ختم سلاطین سلطان فیروز انار الله برهانه ملک خوشباش
کوتوال عرصهٔ گجرات

(۳) بعهد مسند عالے ظفر خان کسرے ثانے
بناکردست این مسجد ملک خوشباش سلطانے

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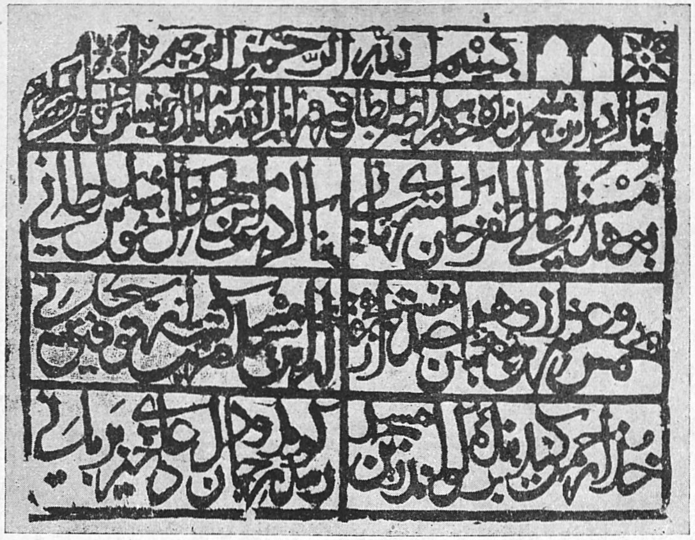
[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 38. Some inscriptions from Cambay were published in *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 38 ; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 29 ; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 4, 7, 9, 17, 22 ; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3, 5, 19, 20, 26.

[3] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 314. There are quite a few mistakes in his reading which need not be detailed here.

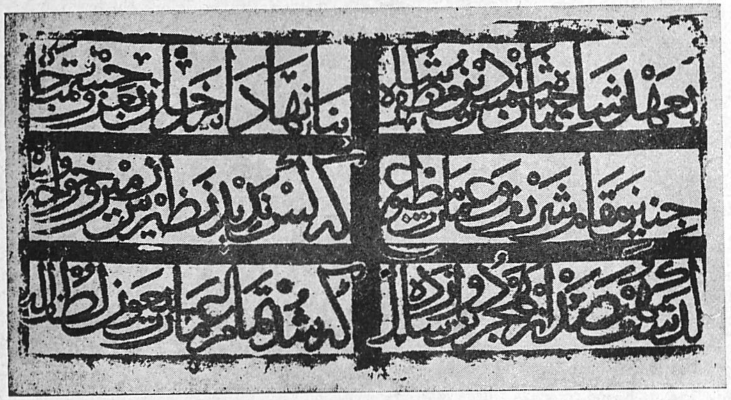
(*a*) Inscription of Muẓaffar S͟hāh I, dated A.H. 807, from Cambay (p. 10)



SCALE : ·15

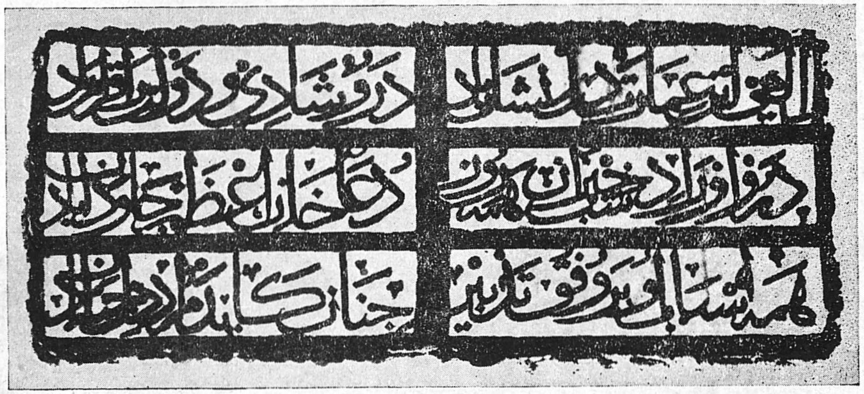
(*b*) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 812, from Patan (p. 12)

(*i*)



SCALE : ·11

(*ii*)



SCALE : ·14

(۴) بخمس و عشرین از شعبان و هیصد هفت[1] از هجرت

که این مسجد مرتب گشت از توفیق سبحانے

(۵) خدا رحمت کند بر بندۂ کو اندرین مسجد

رسد گوید ز جان و دل دعاے خیر بربانے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) This mosque was built by the slave of the seal of the kings (i.e. the last of the great kings), Sulṭān Fīrūz, may Allāh illuminate his proof, (namely) Malik Khūshbāsh, the *kotwāl* of the province (ʻ*arṣa*) of Gujarat.

(3) (Verse :) In the time of Ẓafar Khān, the second Chosroes, this mosque has been constructed by Malik Khūshbāsh Sulṭānī.

(4) It was on the twentyfifth of Shaʻbān and eight hundred (and) seven from the Migration (25th Shaʻbān A.H. 807=26th February 1405 A.D.) that this mosque was completed through the grace of the glorified Lord.

(5) May God have mercy on that creature who having entered this mosque offers prayers from his heart and soul for the welfare of the builder !

V. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 812 FROM PATAN

This important inscription containing a new record of Muẓaffar Shāh I is engraved on two slabs measuring 78 by 37 cm. and 76 by 30 cm. which are respectively built into the outer and inner face of the wall over the window of the *ḥujra* situated inside the tomb-enclosure of Makhdūm Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, a celebrated fourteenth-century Chishtī saint (d. 1336 A.D.), at Patan.[2] It may be pointed out that so far only one inscription of the kingship period of Ẓafar Khān has come to light ; it is at Veraval.[3] One more such record also discovered at Patan is studied next.

The present record consists of two poetical fragments of three verses in Persian each,[4] inscribed in *Naskh* characters in relief, and states that Khān-i-Aʻẓam Asad Khān constructed a 'noble and agreeable edifice ' in 1409-10 A.D. during the reign of Shamsu'd Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh. From the second fragment it is clear that the edifice referred to is the *ḥujra* (lit. room) where the night-vigils could be kept and prayers offered. The fact that historical works of the period fail to give any clue to the identity of Khān-i-Aʻẓam Asad Khān, the builder, enhances the importance of the record. Another interesting point about the epigraph is that it furnishes the earliest versified record of the Gujarat sultans.

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[1] The upper portion of the letter ' ف ' is broken.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 94. For inscriptions and references to the history of Patan, see *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 3 ; *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 15 and f.n. 4 ; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1, 7, 8, 15 ; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 51-103 ; *ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 90-103 ; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 59-66 ; and *ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 30-41.

[3] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 50.

[4] It may be of interest to note that all the inscriptions of Ẓafar Khān including the one of his kingship period are composed in Persian, while majority of the records of his successors are in Arabic.

Its text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(*a*) *Outer side.*

(١) بعهد شاه جهان شمس دین مظفر شاه   بنا نهاد اسدخان بعز و حشمت و جاه

(٢) چنین مقام شریف و عمارت مطبوع   که کس ندید نظیرش ز میر و خواجه و شاه

(٣) گذشت هیصد از هجرت دوازده سال   که شد تمام عمارت بعون لطف اله

(*b*) *Inner side.*

(١) الهی این عمارت دل نشان باد   درو شادی و دولت را قران باد

(٢) درو اوراد شب خیزان همه روز   دعا[ی] خان اعظم جاودان باد

(٣) همه اسباب او بر وفق تدبیر   چنان کاید مراد دل چنان باد

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) In the reign of the king of the world, the sun of the Faith (i.e. Shamsu'd-Dīn) Muẓaffar Shāh, Asad Khān constructed with glory, pomp and dignity

(2) such a noble place and agreeable building whose like none from among the nobles, lords and the kings has seen.

(3) Eight hundred (and) twelve years had passed from the Migration (A.H. 812=1409-10 A.D.) when the building was completed through the help of Divine favour.

(*b*) (1) O God ! May this edifice be agreeable, and may joy and good fortune be conjugated therein !

(2) May the repititions (*awrād*) of those who keep awake at night be always devoted to the prayers for the Khān-i-A'ẓam !

(3) May all his affairs be in accordance with his deliberation, and may all the wishes of his heart be fulfilled !

VI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 813 FROM PATAN

This epigraph, found by me in 1954, is to be seen over the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque called Rangrezon-kī-Masjid at Patan.[1] Also dated in the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh I, it records the construction of an auspicious edifice—a mosque if the record is *in situ*—by Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajīh, the doyen among the nobles and the lord-chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of the court, in 1410-11 A.D. Unfortunately the month of the year is not quoted in the text ; otherwise, the epigraph might have provided evidence about the correct time date of the end of Muẓaffar Shāh's rule and of the accession of his immediate successor Aḥmad Shāh I.[2] Even then, the inscription is quite important. The builder Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajīh, though not categorically described so in the record,

[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 51.

[2] The problem of these dates was briefly discussed by me in *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 52.

is a brother of Muẓaffar Shāh. For apart from the parental name Wajīh, Khwāja Khāṣṣa is mentioned as the chief among the nobles and the *ḥājib* of the court. It is a well-known fact that the office of *ḥājib* was only conferred upon the prince of the royal family next to the king. The only brothers of the king whom historical works mention are Shams Khān the founder of the Nagaur line of rulers and Nuṣrat Khān who was left in charge of Malwa after the defeat of Hoshang Shāh.[1]

The text of this record consists of three verses in Persian engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters and occupies a total area of 49 by 31 cm.[2] It has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(۱) شد این بنا[ی] مبارک ز فیض فضل اله　　بعهد دولت داراء دین مظفر شاه

(۲) پناه و پشت هدی خواجه خاصه ابن وجیه　　سر اکابر اعیان و حاجب درگاه

(۳) نمود سعی و بتوفیق حق موفق گشت　　بهیصد و سه و د[ه سا]ل حسبة لله

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed construction took place through the bounty of Divine grace in the time of the government of the protector of religion Muẓaffar Shāh.

(2) The shelter and refuge of guidance, Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajīh, the chief of the great dignitaries and *ḥājib* (chamberlain) of the court,

(3) made efforts and was favoured with Divine guidance ; (it was constructed) for the sake of Allāh only in (the year A.H.) eight hundred, ten and three (A.H. 813=1410-11 A.D.).

Aḥmad Shāh I

VII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 820 FROM THE SAME PLACE

This epigraph is also unnoticed. It was found by me over the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque in the Phuṭi-Maḥalla or Pinjarkoṭ at Patan.[3] The text comprises six lines in Arabic inscribed in *Naskh* script in relief on a slab measuring 56 by 31 cm. It states that the mosque was constructed in 1417 A.D. during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, by Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, a purchased slave of the king.

The name of Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, like many other names recorded in epigraphs, is not traceable in historical works of Gujarat. But there is little doubt that he was an important official since, he became a noble of first rank with the title Maliku'sh-Sharq and deputy of the king at Kapadwanj only six years later, according to inscription No. IX of this study. Now in the present inscription he is mentioned as Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad, while in the later epigraph his name occurs as Jamāl Bihāmad. In case an *iḍāfat-i-ibnī* is intended between the two names, as is very likely the case, it would mean that Jamāl was son of Bihāmad. If so, it is just possible that the father is identical with Bihāmad, later Bihāmad Khān, who was brought up in the house of Fīrūz Khān, a minister of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq II (died A.H. 791). Bihāmad accompanied Fīrūz Khān's

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1865), p. 182 ; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 449. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 26, however, does not name Nuṣrat Khān as the king's brother.

[2] The tablet is slightly damaged.

[3] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 94.

son to Kalpi where he entered into the service of Junaid Khān, another son of Fīrūz Khan, who was made minister by his brother Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Kalpi. Bihāmad Khān also received in fief the town of Erachh in Jhansi district. He is said to have been alive in A.H. 842. One of his sons, Muḥammad, wrote a general history entitled *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*.[1] If the above assumption is correct, it would mean that Jamālu'd-Dīn had migrated to Gujarat, entered the service of the king and ultimately rose to a high post.

The text of the record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV(a)

(۱) سعی فے بناء هذ المسجد بعون الله الملک المنان العبد الراجی الی رحمة الرحمن جمال‌الدین

(۲) بهامد من عبید خاقان الاعظم و قهرمان المعظم الواثق بتائید المستعان ناصرالدنیا والدین

(۳) ابو الفتح احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان ابتغاء للقا[ء] الله الکریم و اعتمادا

(۴) لقول رسوله الموصوف بخلق العظیم من بنے لله مسجدا یبتغی به وجه الله بنی الله له مثله

(۵) فے الجنة و قال علیه السلام من بنے لله مسجدا و لو کمفحص قطاة وجبت له الجنة و وقع الغراغ من هذا البنا

(۶) بعهده شهر ا عظمه الله تعالی بالبیان شهر رمضان الذے انزل فیه القران فے سنة کانت تاریخها عشرین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the construction of this mosque efforts were made, through the help of Allāh, the Bountiful Lord, by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Beneficent, Jamālu'd-Dīn

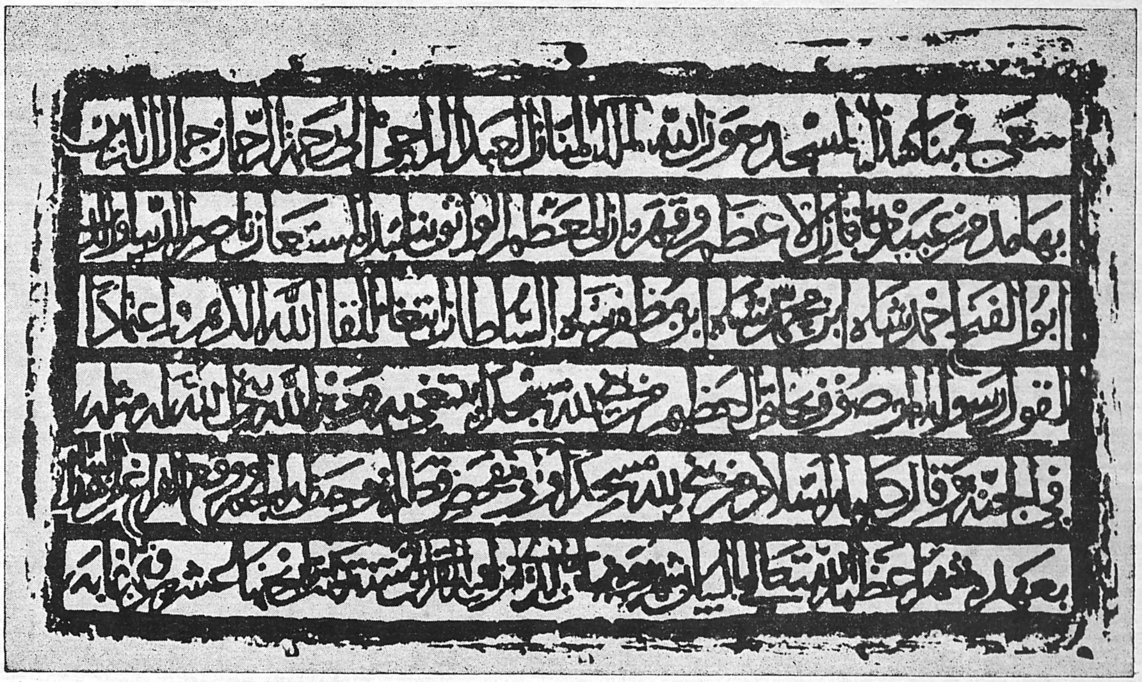
(2) Bihāmad, one of the slaves of the great Khāqān and the magnificent Qahrmān, the reliant on the support of the Helper, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh the sulṭān, by way of obtaining the Face of the Generous Allāh and relying

(4) upon the saying of his Messenger (who is) described (in the *Qur'ān* as possessing) 'sublime morality',[2] to wit, 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque seeking thereby the Face of Allāh, Allāh builds for him a similar edifice

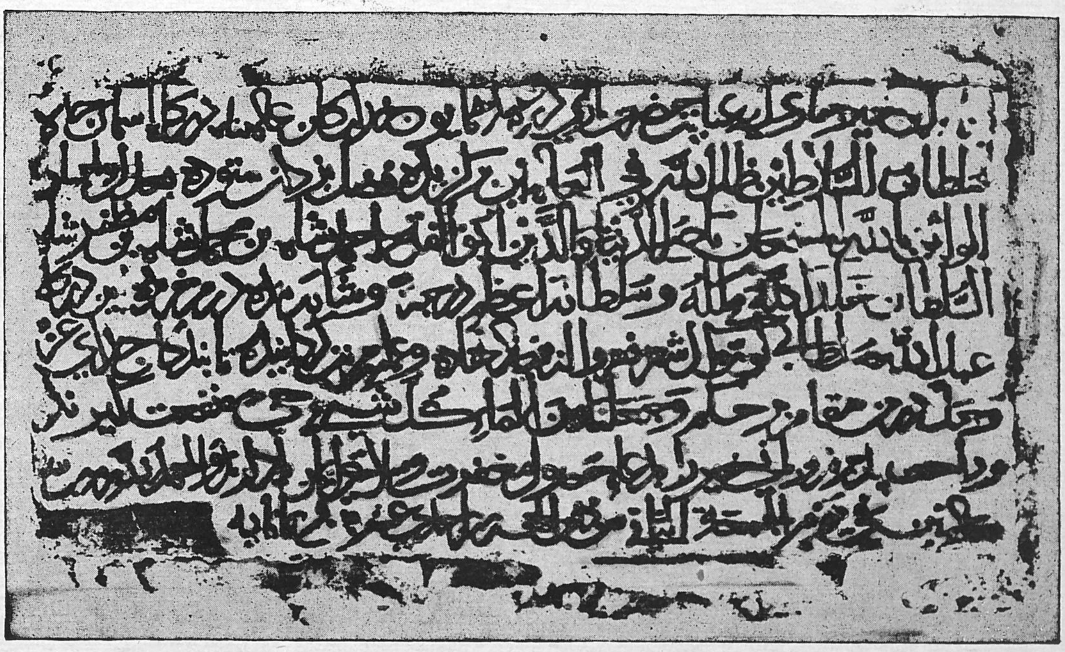
[1] *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* quoted in S.A.A. Rizwī, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, part II (Aligarh, 1957), pp. 221-40.
[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXVIII, part of verse 4.

(*a*) Inscription of Aḥmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 820, from Patan (p. 14)



SCALE : ·26

(*b*) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 821 (p. 15)



SCALE : ·21

(5) in Paradise. And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has also said, 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be (as small) as the nest of a sandgrouse, Paradise becomes due to him'. And he became free from this construction (which took place)

(6) in his (i.e. king's) reign in the month whom Allāh the Exalted has honoured by mentioning it (in the *Qur'ān*) 'the month of Ramaḍān is that in which the *Qur'ān* was revealed',[1] of the year whose reckoning was twenty and eight hundred (Ramaḍān A.H. 820=October-November 1417 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 821 FROM THE SAME PLACE

An English translation of this record was made by Professor Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dār at the request of Professor Commissariat for his History of Gujarat.[2] But since its text and facsimile have not been published, it is included in this article.

The inscriptional tablet measures 67 by 37 cm. and is fixed on the water-trough for cattle near a well outside the phāṭipāl gate at Patan.[3] The record comprising eight lines of Persian interspersed with Quranic texts in Arabic is inscribed in *Naskh* characters in relief and refers to the excavation and construction of a 'flowing bounty' i.e. well on the last day of 1418 A.D. during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh by 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla i.e. Patan.

It is not easy to establish the identity of 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī. Historians do mention one Malik 'Abdullāh who was the superintendent of the elephants (*shaḥna-i-fīl*) in the beginning of Maḥmūd Shāh I's rule i.e. in A.H. 863 ; but his name only occurs once in connexion with the release of the minister Malik Sha'bān 'Imādu'l-Mulk,[4] and no particulars are available about his antecedents or subsequent career. It is possible that 'Abdu'llāh of our inscription might have risen from the *kotwāl* ship of Nahrwāla to the superintendence of royal elephants. In any case, the importance of the record in that it supplied the name of an official of Nahrwāla is obvious.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV(b)

(۱) بناء این خیر جاری از عنایت حضرت باری در عهد همایون خدایگان عالمپناه درگاه آسمان جاه

(۲) سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالمین برگزیده فضل یزدان ستوده بعدل و احسان

(۳) الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنیا و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه

(۴) السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه اعظم درجته و شانه بندۀ درم خریدۀ این درگاه

(۵) عبدالله سلطانے کوتوال شهر نهرواله بنیاد نهاده و عمارت مرتب گردانیده تا بندگان خدای عز

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 185.

[2] M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 122-23.

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 89. Another epigraph at the same place is written in *Nāgarī* characters and belongs to the reign of Aurangzeb (*ibid.*, No. C, 90).

[4] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 97 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa ālih*, vol. I (London, 1128), p. 15.

(٦) و جل درین مقام بر حکم و جعلنا من الماء کل شئے حی منفعت گیرند

(٧) و راحت پزیرند و بانی خیر را بدعاء حصول مغفرت و سلامتی ایمان یاد ارند و

الحمد لله رب

(٨) العالمین فی یوم الجمعة الثانے من ذی الحجه سنه احدی عشرین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this flowing bounty (i.e. well) through the kindness of the Lord of Majesty, in the auspicious reign of the master, asylum of the world, having the court of heaven's dignity,

(2) king of kings, shadow of Allāh in the worlds, chosen by the grace of God, praised for justice and benevolence,

(3) reliant upon Allāh whose help is sought, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,

(4) the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty (and) magnify his status and dignity, by the purchased slave of this court,

(5) (namely) 'Abdu'llāh Sulṭānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāla, was founded, and its structure completed, so that the creatures of God, be He glorified

(6) and exalted, may at this place in accordance with (Divine) decree 'And we have made of water everything living',[1] derive benefit,

(7) find comfort and remember the founder of this bounty with prayers for the achievement of his pardon and soundness of his faith. 'And (all) praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the Creation.'[2] On Friday, the second of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year (A.H.) eight hundred and twentyone (2nd Dhi'l-Ḥijja A.H. 821=31st December 1418 A.D.).

IX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 826 FROM KAPADWANJ

I noticed this inscription for the first time in 1954 A.D. It is built into the west wall to the left of the central *miḥrāb* in Sām Shahīd's mosque at Kapadwanj.[3] Consisting of six lines of Arabic interspersed with a few Persian phrases, the text records the construction of the mosque in 1423 A.D. during the reign of Aḥmad Shah when Maliku'sh-Sharq Jamāl Bihāmad was the (latter's) deputy at the place. The way in which the names of the two builders are mentioned is confusing; it reads: 'the builder(s) of this mosque are slaves of the house of the Prophet, Aḥmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī commonly known as Sayyid Makan.'[4] While the phrase indicating the builder—al-bānī—is in singular, the Persian term *bandagān* describing them as the descendants of the Prophet is in plural; again, there is no conjunction—*wāv*—between the two names. But on the whole I am inclined to take Aḥmad Budh and Muḥammad Budh as brothers. But in that case, whom should the popular name Sayyid Makan refer to? It can only refer to the father whose name appears to be Budh. In the alternative, the phrase Aḥmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad

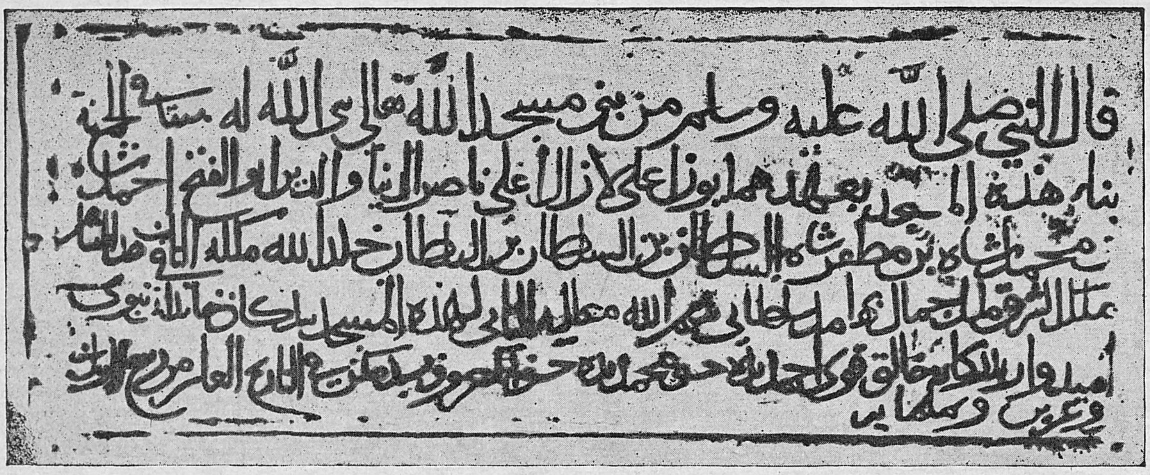
[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter XXI, verse 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter 1, verse 1.

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 49.

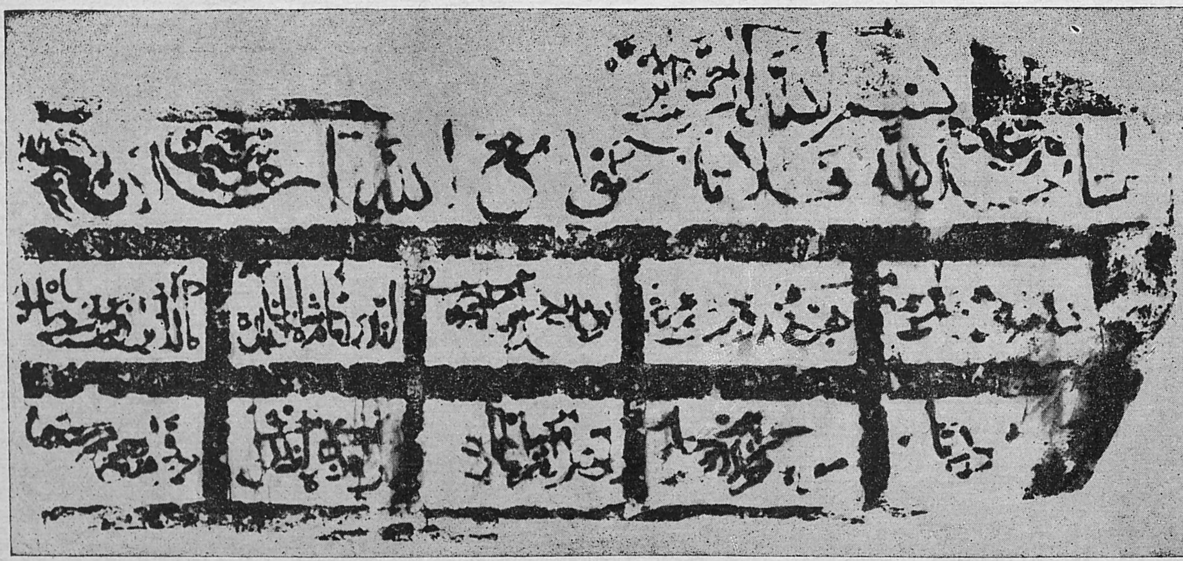
[4] The name 'Makan' is to be found even today in Gujarat particularly in the rural areas.

(*a*) Inscription of Aḥmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 826, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)



SCALE : ·21

(*b*) Another record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 828, from Wadhwan (p. 20)



SCALE : ·18

Budh Ḥasanī can be taken to mean Aḥmad Budh Ḥasanī son of Muḥamad Budh Ḥasanī in which case the builder would be the son, who was popularly called Sayyid Makan. But in that case, the occurrence of Budh as part of the names of both the father and the son is somewhat unusual. I would personally prefer to take them as brothers.

Malik Jamāl Bihāmad is identical with Jamālu'd-Dīn Bihāmad of the Patan inscriation (No. VII). On the date of this epigraph he enjoyed the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq and was the king's deputy at Kapadwanj. The builders Aḥmad and Muḥammad, sons of Sayyid Makan *alias* Budh, appear to have been at the best men of local importance.

The text is inscribed on a slab measuring 70 by 27 cm. in ordinary *Naskh* characters in relief and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(a)

(١) قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله تعالی بنی الله له بیتا فے الجنة

(٢) بناء هذه المسجد بعهد همایون اعلی لازال اعلی ناصر الدنیا و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه

(٣) بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان خلدالله ملکه النایب فے هذ المقام

(٤) ملک الشرق ملک جمال بهامد سلطانی یدیم الله معالیه البانی لهذه المسجد بندگان خاندان نبوی

(٥) امیدوار بدرگاه خالق قوی احمد بده حسنی محمد بده حسنی المعروف بسید مکن فے التاریخ العاشر من ربیع الاول سنه

(٦) [س]ت ؟ و عشرین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may Allāh's blessings and salutations be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh the Exalted, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'.

(2) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the auspicious time, may it never cease to exist, of Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh,

(3) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, son of the sulṭān, son of the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, (and in time of his) deputy (*nāib*) at this place,

(4) Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Jamāl Bihāmad Sulṭānī, may Allāh make his glory last for ever. The builders of this mosque are the slaves of the family of the Prophet (and)

(5) hopeful at the court of the Omnipotent Creator, Aḥmad (son of ?) Budh Ḥasani and Muḥammad (son of ?) Budh Ḥasanī (the latter ?) popularly known as Sayyid Makan. On the date 10th of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, year (A.H.)

(6) six and twenty and eight hundred (10th Rabī' I A.H. 826=21st February 1423 A.D.).

X. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 827 FROM CAMBAY

The credit of first noticing this inscription in 1919 goes to Mr. R. D. Banerji, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.[1] It has however not been published. Its tablet measuring 55 by 30 cm. is fixed into the west wall, above the pulpit, of the Ṣad-i-Awwal mosque.[2] This mosque is locally so named as it is claimed to have been erected in the first *ṣad* (century) of Hijra, but the present structure does not seem to be original, much less of that age. There are two more inscriptions in the mosque, of which one appearing above the central *miḥrāb* is an epitaph, and the other fixed near the prayer-niche refers to the reparation carried out to the mosque at a much later date.[3]

The text consists of five lines of faultless Arabic inscribed in *Nas<u>kh</u>* characters in relief. It assigns the reconstruction of the mosque from its very foundation, after it had fallen apart, by Aḥmad <u>Sh</u>āh in 1423 A.D. It has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
احدا و قال عليه السلام

(۲) من بنے لله بيتايعبد الله فيه بنی الله له بيتا فے الجنة من الدر و الياقوت و عنه عليه
السلام من بنے لله مسجدا و لو کمفحص قطاة بنے الله

(۳) له بيتا فے الجنة بنی هذا المسجد المبارک بتجديد العمارة من اسه بعد انقضاضه
السلطان العالم العادل

(۴) الباذل الاعظم ظل الله فے العالم الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح
احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر

(۵) شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و ابد رافته امين رب العالمين و ذلک فے الغره من المحرم
سنه سبع و عشرين و ثمان مايه من الهجرة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[4] And said (the Prophet), may peace be upon him,

(2) 'One who builds for Allāh a house in which Allāh is worshipped, Allāh builds for him a house of pearl and cornelian in Paradise'. And (this saying is) also by him, may peace be on him : 'One who builds for Allāh a mosque even if it be as (small as) the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds

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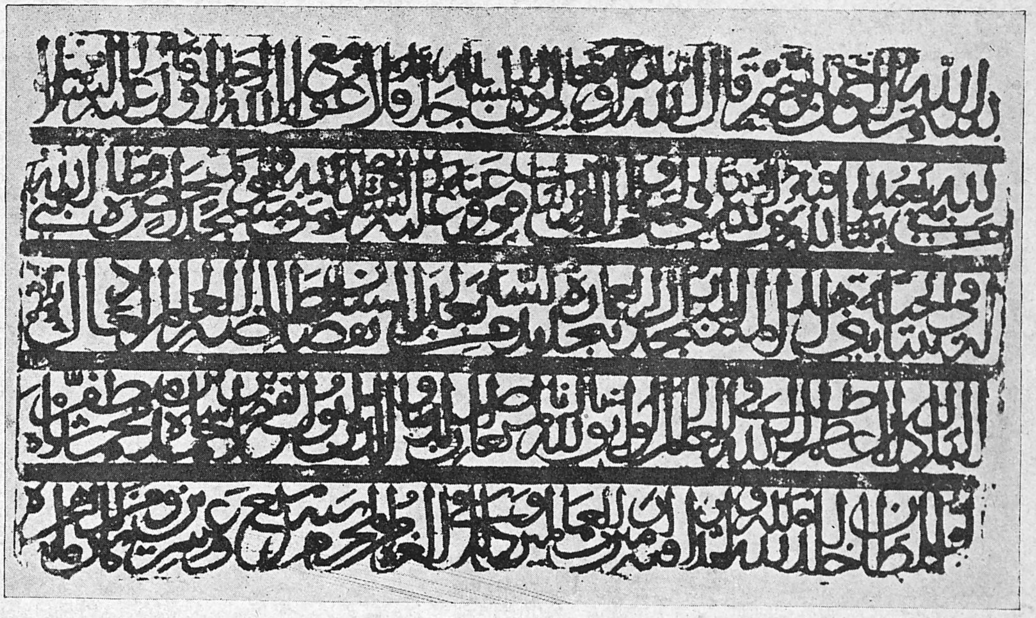
[1] *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle* (*PRWC*), 1919-20 (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 50 (No. 28), 58.

[2] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 54.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 53, 55.

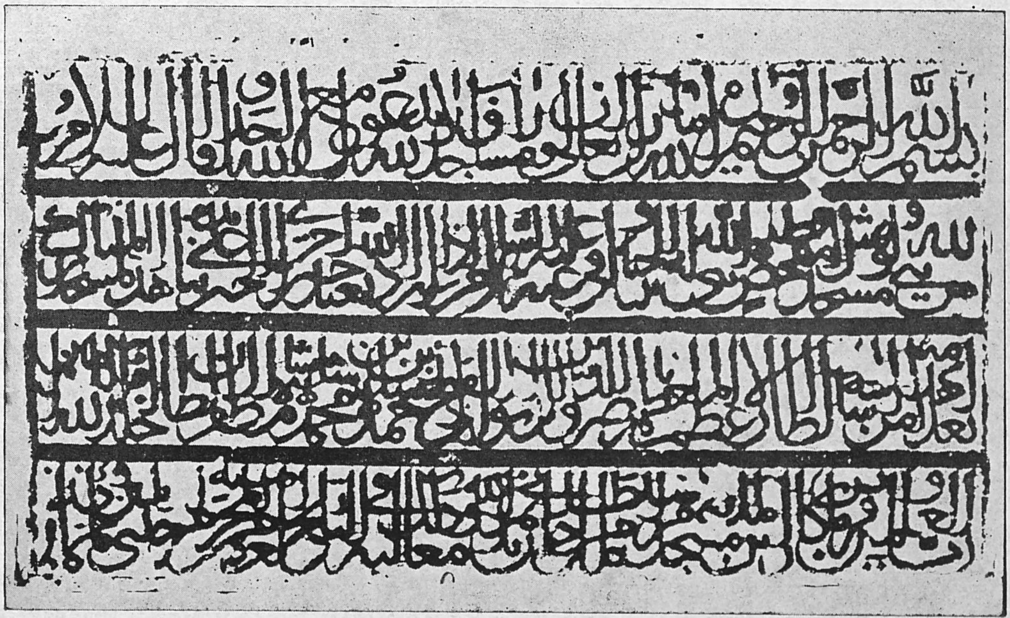
[4] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(*a*) Inscription of Aḥmad S͟hāh I, dated A.H. 827, from Cambay (p. 18)



SCALE : ·23

(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 831, from Cambay (p. 21)



SCALE : ·25

(3) fyr him a house in paradise'. This blessed mosque was reconstructed from its very foundation, after it had fallen down, by the king who is learned, just,

(4) bountiful, great, shadow of Allāh in the world, reliant an Allāh whose help is sought, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar

(5) Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and cause his kindness to lost for ever—Amen, O Lord of the Universel ! And this took place on the fist Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and twenty and eight hundred from the Migration (1st Muḥarram A.H. 827=5th December 1423 A.D,).

XI. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 828 FROM WADHWAN

This interesting and valuable inscription was published by Mr. R. S. Saksena from the rubbings supplied to him by the Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot, in 1928 A. D. Due to the damaged nature of the writing, he could not decipher its date and stated that it was lost ; also, he read the name of the builder as Malik Thānī.[1] These statements are incorrect.

The inscriptional tablet is fixed into the facade of the prayer-hall of the Pāḍā-Masjid at Wadhwan, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name in Saurahtra.[2] It is also principal town of the region called Jhalawar whose chiefs occasionally defied the authority of the sultans during the early period of their rule.[3] The slab is evidently not *in situ* as it is said to have been lying loose when its text was published by Mr. Saksena. Moreover, another inscription of Aḥmad Shāh I, dated A. H. 840, which is now fixed by the side of the one under study and which was also lying loose some time back was reported to have been removed in the last century from the mosque within the Durbār's enclosure (chief's residence) as the monument was used for a granary.[4] What is perhaps the inscription of the monument proper appears over its central *miḥrāb* and is of the time of Muḥammad Shāh ; it is dated A. H. 851. Both these records have been previously published.[5]

The slab is somewhat broken. In its present state, it measures 82 by 36 em. About one-sixth of the slab on the right is missing, so that one hemistich in the first line and one hemistich and a half in the second are lost, which shows that the text, apart from *Bismillāh* and the famous Quranic verse occurring in mosque inscriptions, consisted of a fragment of six verses. Unfortunately, the slab is badly damaged, and the letters have peeled off almost in every panel. The writing seems to have beed slightly better preserved when Mr. Saksena wrote.

All the same, after some efforts, it has been possible to decipher sufficient portion of the text according to which a mosque wos constructed in 1425 A. D. during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh. The name of the builder is not contained in the surviving text, and the verse which Mr. Saksena deciphered os containing it gives nothing but the date. It was probably contained in the first two hemistiches of the second line, of which only half has survived, and it is also badly damaged. It is therefore difficult to name the builder. Needless to say, the name Malik Thānī deciphered by Mr. Saksena—which does not exist on the stone—is even otherwise quite unusual for a nobleman.

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[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly* (*IHQ*), vol. IV (1928), p. 771, piate no. 2.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C,119.

[3] For the history of the city and its remains, sec. *BG*, vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 691-701.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 693.

[5] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 56,160. These were also published by Mr. Saksena in *IHQ*, vol. IV, pp. 771-772, but his readings are incorrect.

This as well as the other two records referred to above furnish important evidence of the political statvs of Jhalawar at the period of their dates. Also, the present record provides the earliest versified inscription of Aḥmad Shāh.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good order. The text of the record is deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) [و ان ا]لمسا جد الله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۳) .... شد مرتب بفضل یزدانے[1]

[2]هیصد و بیست هشت از هجرت بود تاریخ..........رمضانے ؟

اندر ایام شاه احمد شاه مالکِ تاج و تخت سلطانے

(۴) ....[3]بود بانے

[4].............. آرد اندرین مسجد [5]یکک.......... از ره مسلمانے

یا الهے گناه انکس را در قیامت [6]رحیم و رحمانے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[7]

(3) ....was completed by the grace of God.

Eight hundred and twentyeight from the Migration (of the Prophet) was the date............ of Ramaḍān (Ramaḍān A. H. 828=July-August 1425 A.D.),

in the time of the king Aḥmad Shāh, the master of the royal crown and throne.

(4) .... was the builder.

........................in this mosque may......one......out of religiosity.

O God ! for the sin of that person, Thou art Merciful and Compassionate on the day of Resurrection.

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[1] Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 771, reads : 'ربانی'.

[2] *Ibid.* reads : 'معبد خاص است و بیت شریف بود بانئی آن ملکِ ثانی'.

[3] *Ibid.* omits.

[4] *Ibid.* reads : 'مهربانی کن اندرین مسجد'.

[5] *Ibid.* reads : 'یکک دعا لازم از مسلمانی'.

[6] *Ibid.* reads : 'خفیف گردانی'.

[7] *Qurā'n*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

XII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 831 FROM CAMBAY

This unpublished inscripton was first noticed by me in 1956. It occurs over the right *miḥrāb* in the west wall of the Furja-kī-Masjid situated on the road leading to the port at Cambay.[1] The tablet measures 50 by 27 cm. and contains a record of four lines which are in Arabic with the exception of a phrase indicating the name of the builder. Its text is similar to some extent to that of another record from the same place (Inscription No. X). The similarity does not end here : the style of writing is also almost the same as in the inscription under reference.

It is stated in the record that the original structure of the mosque having completely fallen down, it was completely reconstructed by the orders of the king at the request of Maliku'l-Umarā Malik Marjān Sulṭānī in 1427 A.D. Among the quite few noblemen bearing the name Marjān, the nearest in time is Malik Marjān Sulṭānī the governor (*ḥavāladār*), on behalf of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, of the fort of Broach who had successfully resisted the attack on the fort by Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa in A. H. 855.[2] Presumably he is the same Malik Marjān Sulṭānī who had built a mosque in Broach according to the inscription dated A. H. 862 in the time of Aḥmad Shāh II.[3] In that case, Maliku'l-Umarā Marjān Sulṭānī held charge of Cambay at the time of our record which would thus provide additional information about his career.

The text of the record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام

(۲) من بنے لله مسجدا و لو بمثل مفحص قطاة بنی الله له بيتا فی الجنة و عنه عليه السلام إذا اراد الله بعبد خيرا اجرے الخير علی يده بنا هذ المسجد المبارک

(۳) بعد انهدامه من اساسه السلطان الاعظم المعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه آمين

(۴) رب العالمين و فرمايش كار اين مسجد ملک الامرا ملک مرجان سلطانے يديم الله معاليه و ذلک فے التاريخ الغره من المحرم سنه احدی ثلثين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allāh the Blessed and Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[4] And (the Prophet), peace be upon him, has said,

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[1] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 39. There is also a fragmentary epigraph on the central *miḥrāb* which contains part of a Quranic verse (chapter LIX, verse 23).

[2] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 70 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[3] *EIM*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 29. Also cf. *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 66.

[4] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(2) 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. And (this saying is also) from him, peace be upon him : 'When Allāh wishes good for (His) creature, He causes good to be done at his hands'. This blessed mosque was constructed,

(3) after it had fallen down from the foundation, by the great and magnificent king Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom—Amen,

(4) O Lord of the Universe ! And the suggestion for the work (i.e. construction) of this mosque was by Maliku'l-Umarā Malik Marjān Sulṭānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram of the year (A.H.) thirtyone and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A. H. 831=22nd October 1427 A.D.).

Muḥammad Shāh II

XIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 847 FROM BARODA

The pillar bearing this bilingual epigraph is reported to have been brought to the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery from Sathod situated in 22°05'N. and 73°20'E. in Baroda district.[1] It is inscribed with fourteen and six lines of texts respectively in Persian and Sanskrit. On the top of the slab are engraved the figures of animals commonly found in inscriptions ending with imprecations.

Unfortunately the letters of the Persian version have been greatly disfigured due to the damaged condition of the pillar so much so that it is difficult to ascertain the purport of the record.

The Sanskrit version is also reported to be not clear due to the damaged nature of the writing, though it is in a slightly better preserved condition.[2] However, from the date and the name of the king which have been deciphered beyond doubt, it appears that the pillar was set up in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh and that it bears some sort of royal order issued on the 15th Muḥarram A. H. 847 (15th May 1443 A.D.). It is unfortunate that this valuable inscription should thus be rendered useless resulting in the loss of some important information that could have thrown light on an administrative aspect of the government.

The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is *Naskh* of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(۱) بتاریخ پانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعو

(۲) اربعین و ثمان مئیه در عهد سلطنت...........

(۳) سلاطین محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه ؟...

(۴) .... قصبه .... کے

(۵) ....

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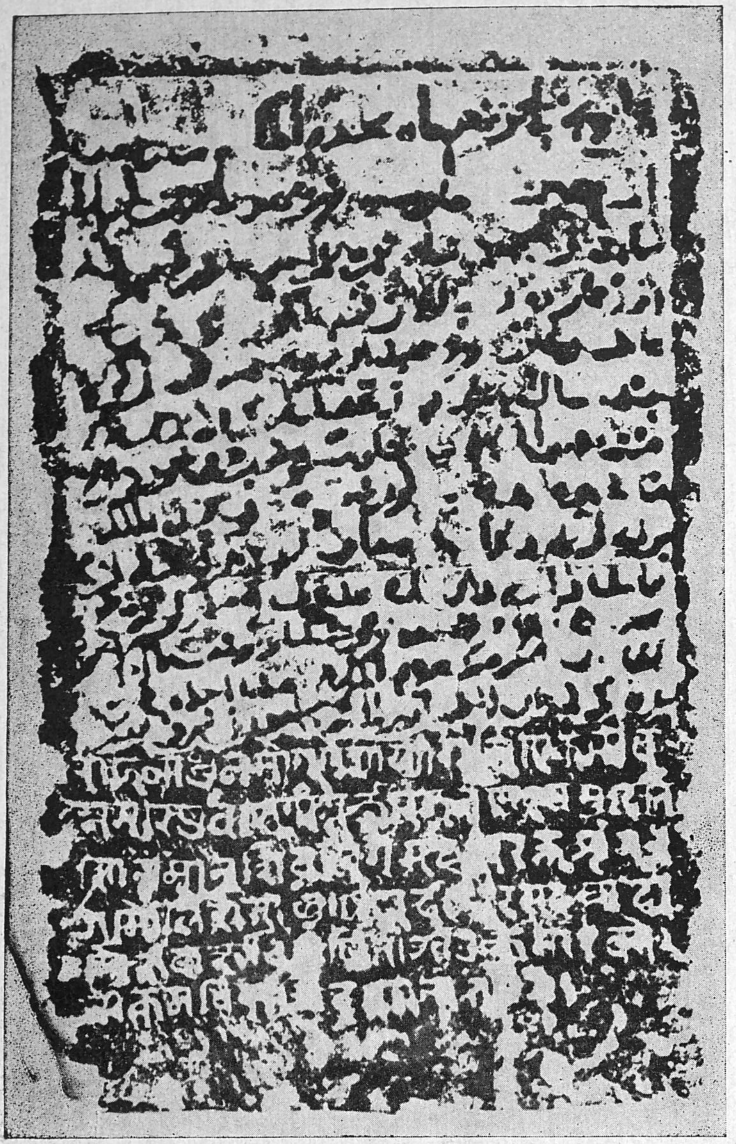
[1] *ARIE*, 1949-50, No. B, 60,

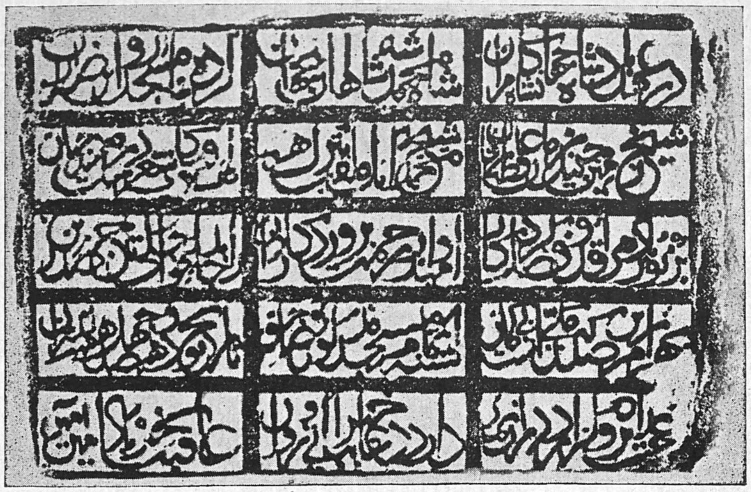
[2] *Ibid*,

(*a*) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh II, dated A.H. 847, from Baroda (p. 22)



SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 848, from Patan (p. 23)



SCALE : ·17

(*c*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 867, from Mandal (p. 30)

SCALE : ·17

(٦) چند سال باشد که ز تحصیل ...... دیرین ......

(٧) ست .... حکومت ؟ .... خود ....

(٨) .... الملک ؟

(٩) برای .... معاف گردیده ست ؟............

(١٠) کامل..

(١١) ....

(١٢) لطایف .... المکرم .... اجده ....

(١٣) .... سعید بن شرف ؟................

(١٤) ....

From the above reading, it appears that the epigraph contained an order of remission of certain taxes which were in existence for some years. It seems to mention in line 13 some person, in all probability an official, whose name reads like Sa'īd son of Sharaf.

XIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 848 FROM PATAN

This epigraph is also one of the few versified records of the Gujarat sultans. It is engraved on a slab measuring 53 by 35 cm. which is fixed into the southern wall of the courtyard of the mosque in Khāṭkīwāḍā at Patan and may not be *in situ*.[1] It contains seven verses in Persian followed by an invocatory phrase inscribed in five lines, with three hemistiches a line. The quality of verse is mediocre, but the style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly high order and recalls to mind the calligraphy of some inscriptions of Ẓafar Khān.

It refers to the construction of a mosque inside the mausoleum of Shaikh Muḥammad Kāshgharī, with the sobriquet Turk, who is spoken of in the record as an eminent saint. The mosque was completed in 1444-45 A.D. The builder is not specified as such in the text but from the context it appears that Tāj, (son of) Ṣadr, son of Bihrām, son of Zain, (son of) Ṣadr, a devotee of the saint, constructed the mosque. Neither the saint nor the disciple is known to us. Tāj was originally from Mecca according to the epigraph. The epigraph thus provides the name of a saint who was renowned in his time and who seems to have flourished in the middle of the first half of the 9th century Hijra.

The text of the record is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(١) در عهد بادشاه جهان شاه کامران   شاه محمد شه شاهان اینجهان

کرده بناء مسجد این روضهٔ ازان   (٢) شیخ زمین جنید زمان قطب عارفان

شیخ محمد آنک ملقب بترک هست   منسوب او بکاشغرست درهمه جهان

[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 61. The record was discovered by Mr. A. A. Kadiri.

(۳) پر نور باد مرقد او فضل کردگار　　امیدوار رحمت پروردگار دان

بد زاجیا ؟ بخواجگی تاج صدر بن　　(۴) بهرام زین صدر که مکے است بے گمان

گشته تمام مسجد مذکور فضل حق　　تاریخ بود هیصد و چهل هشت اندران

(۵) [ر]حمت خدا بر و که گزارد دران نماز　　دارد دعا[ی] خیر ببانے او روان

عاقبت بخیر باد آمین آمین

TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the reign of the king of the world, the successful monarch, Muḥammad Shāh, the king of the kings of this world,

(was constructed) the mosque within this tomb-enclosure of

the Shaikh of the world, Junaid of the time and the pole-star among the gnostics,

Shaikh Muḥammad, who is known by the title of Turk (and who) is known in the whole world to have belonged to Kāshghar,

(3-4) may his grave be illuminated through the grace of the Creator ! (As regards the builder) know him to be the hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher,

the hopeful of the (favour of the saint viz.) Tāj, (son of) Ṣadr, son of

Bihrām, (son of) Zain, (son of) Ṣadr who undoubtedly hails from Mecca.

(When) the mosque was completed by the grace of God, the reckoning (of the year A.H.) was eight hundred and forty eight (A.H. 848=1444-45 A.D.).

(5) May God have mercy upon one who offers prayers in it (and) invokes blessings for the well-being of the builder ! May the end be good ! Amen ! Amen !

XV. INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The mosque to which this inscription originally belonged was situated near the Triveni- or Chhoṭā-Darwāza at Somnath in the Junagadh district.[1] It was demolished in recent times, and the epigraphical tablet is also missing. Fortunately an inked rubbing of its inscription which was taken quite some time back was found in the old records of my office, and it is from the same that the epigraph is edited here for the first time. The tablet seems to have measured 98 by 33 cm. It was badly weather-beaten even at the time when the rubbing was prepared, as a glance at the plate will show. The writing is almost obliterated, with the result that only a small portion of the text has survived.

An interesting aspect of the record is that the arrangement of its text bears striking resemblance to that of the Mangrol Raḥmat mosque inscription of the time of Fīrūz Tughluq.[2] The large rectangular panel in the middle of the tablet is inscribed with the famous Quranic text used in mosque inscriptions. In the top border occur *Bismillāh* and another Quranic verse. The inner vertical borders on the left and right contain traditions of the Prophet, while from the outer vertical border on the right, commences the historical text which is in Persian verse. It is continued in the lower border and ends in the outer vertical border on the left. It appears that this text consisted of

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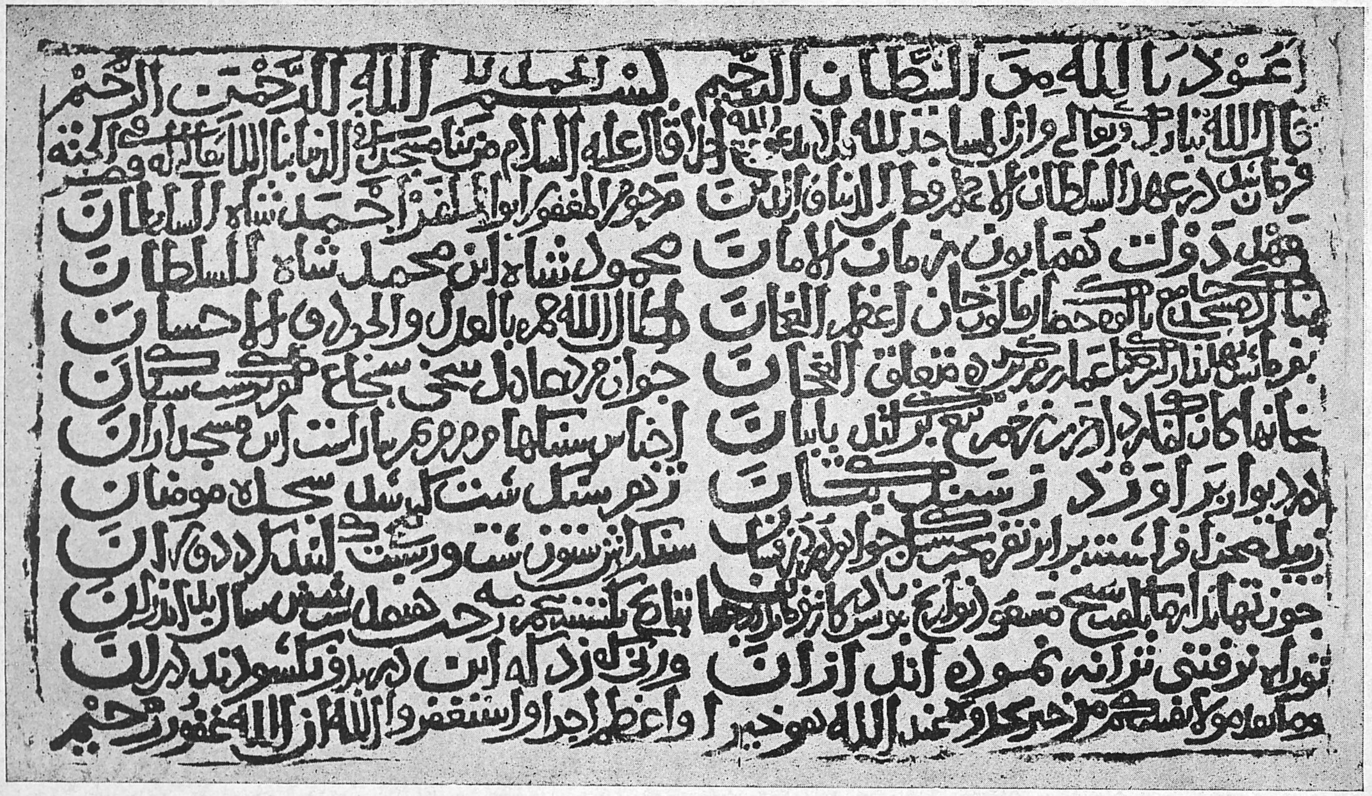
[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 35.

[2] *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 23, plate VIIb.

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 866, from Malan (p. 27)



SCALE : ·21

(*b*) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh II, from Somnath (p. 25)

SCALE : ·2

seven verses in all. It is unfortunate that the text has not survived in full. Anyway, from the religious texts, it is certain that the inscription referred to the construction of a mosque. The mosque was built during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh II. The name of the builder and the date are lost.

The style of writing is *Naskh*, and the record is deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(b)

(*a*) *In the middle.*

قال الله و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا [مع الله] احدا

(*b*) *In the top border.*

(i) Centre

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(ii) Sides

نصر من الله و فتح قریب و بشر المومنین ـ فالله خیر حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمین

(*c*) *In the inner right border.*

قال علیه السلام الدنیا ساعة فجعلها طاعة

(*d*) *In the inner left border.*

(۱) قال علیه السلام المومن فی المسجد کالسمک فی الماء

(۲) [المنافق فی] المسجد کا[لطیر فی ال]قفص

(*e*) *In the outer right, lower and outer left borders.*

(۱) .... کبار .... ست شه تاجدار

(۲) بزرگی ؟ محمد شه احمد ست ز آل مظفر شه نامدار

(۳) خدا رحمتی کن بران خواجهٔ که .... خواجه کبار

(۴) [1].. ...... بن .... [2]...................................

(۵) ....

(۶) ....

(۷) .... مرتب شد از فضل پروردگار

[1] This hemistich probably contains the name of the builder.

[2] The text in this and the following five hemistiches is completely lost.

TRANSLATION

(*a*) Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[1]

(*b*) (i) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(ii) 'Help is from Allāh and Victory near. And deliver the good news to the Believers'.[2] 'And Allāh is the Best Keeper and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful ones.'[3]

(*c*) The Prophet , may peace be upon him says, 'The world is (for) a moment, so spend it in devotion.'

(*d*) (1) (The Prophet), may peace be upon him, says, 'A believer in the mosque is like fish in water ;

(2) (and) a hypocrite in the mosque is like a bird in the cage'.

(*d*) (1) ....great................crowned monarch.

(2) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh,is of the line of Muẓaffar Shāh the illustrious.

(3) O God ! have mercy on the Khwāja (master) who................the great Khwāja.

(4-6) ....

(7) ....was constructed by the grace of the Nourisher.

Maḥmūd Shāh I

XVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 866 FROM MALAN

The credit of discovering this inscription occurring on the Jāmi' mosque at Malan in Palanpur *tāluka* of the Banaskantha[4] district goes to the late-lamented scholar of repute, Maulānā Abū Ẓafar Nadvī of the Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmadabad, who published its purport in his work on the history of Gujarat.[5] Unfortunately, however, the Maulānā could not decipher the inscription completely nor correctly, and having read *haftṣad* (seven hundred) for *hīṣad* (eight hundred), *bīst* (twenty) for *shast* (sixty) and only the name Muḥammed Shāh in the royal genealogy, he assigned the epigraph to the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. When I first came to know of it from the Maulānā's work, I was naturally interested to be informed about one more epigraph to add to the list of the very few inscriptions of that monarch in the province and the only to be found in north Gujarat. Consequently, I particularly desired Mr. A. A. Kadiri who toured some places in north Gujarat in search of inscriptions to visit Malan and take its estampage. On examination, the epigraph turned out to be a new record of Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarat.

This discovery, however, does not in the least detract from its importance since apart from being a new record of this king, which, again, is found in the almost northernmost region of modern Gujarat, the inscription is quite interesting. It is longer than most of the Perso-Arabic records of Gujarat and seeks to give more particulars than are usually found in these inscriptions. It also shows that Malan—spelt in the text as Mālwan or Mālūn—at present an insignificant village, was the seat of a *thāna*[6] and included in the fief of one of the eminent nobles of the state Ulugh Khān. Further it mentions the fort of the town. Lastly, it describes, somewhat clumsily no doubt,

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, chapter XII, part of verse 64.
[4] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 56.
[5] Abū Ẓafar Nadvī, *Gujarat-no-Itihās* (in Gujarati), vol. II (Ahmadabad, 1949), p. 116.
[6] *Mānūn*, *thana* under Palanpur of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op cit.*, p. 200, is a misprint for Mālan.

the structure and its building material of marble, of stones from demolished temples, the number of its pillars and domes, etc.

But in a way, the epigraph is extremely disappointing : its greatest drawback is the language of its text composed by Shaikh Mas'ūd. It is written in what seems to have been intended to be, but is a very bad example, of Persian verse, so much so that it is extremely difficult to satisfactorily determine where one hemistich ends[1] and be perfectly sure about the meaning in some places. Broadly speaking, the purport seems to be that the order for the construction of the Jāmi' mosque was issued in the time of the late Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II ; that in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I, the mosque in the hilly fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) was ultimately completed at the request of Kabīr, son of Ḍiyā, the local *thānadār,* by Khān-i-A'ẓam Ulugh Khān who eradicated the mine of idolatory, demolished the temples and utilised their building material in its construction ; and that Shaikh Mas'ūd was asked by the local official to compose the text. The completion of the mosque took place in 1462 A.D.

Ulugh Khān was the title conferred upon 'Alāu'd-Dīn Suhrāb, the governor of Sultanpur, in A. H. 855, in reward for the service rendered by him to his master Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh at the time of the invasion of Gujarat by Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa.[2] His son Bahāu'd-Dīn also held this title presumably after his father's death or retirement. Most probably, Khān-i-A'ẓam Ulugh Khān of the inscription is the father, because the son is said to have received the title of Ikhtiyāru'l-Mulk some time after the accession of Maḥmūd I and held it at least until about A. H. 888.[3] If so, the present epigraph would supply us with a later date in the career of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ulugh Khān who is last heard of as having been sent to fetch Prince Fatḥ Khān to be crowned as Maḥmūd Shāh I in A. H. 862 or 863.[4] It may be recalled here that an earlier date in the career of Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn was also supplied by an inscription now stored in the Record Office at Mangrol in Junagadh district.[5]

The style of writing is *Naskh* which, like its text, is of poor quality. The inscriptional tablet is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' mosque situated on a small hill just outside the village and measures 80 by 44 cm. The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) اعوذ بالله من الشیطان الرجیم بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم الحمد لله

(۲) قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو[ا] مع الله احدا قال علیه السلام من بنا مسجدا فے الدنیا بنا الله تعالی له قصر[ا] فے الجنة

(۳) فرمان شد در عهد السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنیا و الدین

مرحوم المغفور ابو المظفر احمد شاه — السلطان

---

[1] The way in which the hemistiches are determined in the quoted text seems to be the only possible way ; it will be observed that some hemistiches are disproportionately larger.

[2] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70, 77, 93 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 10, etc.

[3] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 27. For further details of his career, see *ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, 33, 34 ; Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 146, etc.

[4] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Cf. Dr. M. A. Chaghtāi, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 12.

[5] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 57-58.

(۴) بعهد دولت همایون زمان الامان
محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

(۵) بناکرد مسجد جامع باکوه حصار مالون خان اعظم الغخان
اطال الله عمره بالعدل و الجود و الاحسان

(۶) بفرمائش تهاندار کبیر ضیا عمارت مرتب کرده متعلق الغخان
جوان مرد عادل سخی شجاع کفر پرست سگان

(۷) بتخانها کان کفر دار حرب زخم تیغ برکند با بتان
اجناس سنگها مر مر مریم ؟ بیاراست این مسجد از ان

(۸) در [و] دیوار بر آورد ز سنگ بتان
ز هر سنگ پشت ؟ که شد سجده مومنان

(۹) زیبد صحن افراشته برابر نقره تحت ؟ سنگ جواهردر در فشان
سنگتراش ستون شست ؟ ور[1] بست و پنج گنبد کرد دور آن

(۱۰) چون تهاندار ما بگفت شیخ مسعود تواریخ بنویس یادگار توماند درجهان
بتاریخ یکشنبه پنجم مه رجب هیصد شست ؟ شش سال بد اندران

(۱۱) تو راه نر فتی توا نه نموده اند ازان
ورنی که زد که این در بدو بکشودند دران

(۱۲) و ما تقد مو[ا] لانفسکم من خیر تجدوه عندالله هو خیرا و اعظم اجرا و استغفرو
الله ان الله غفور رحیم

TRANSLATION

(1) I seek refuge in Allāh from (the mischief of) the accursed Satan (and begin) in the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allāh !

(2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh '.[2] (The Prophet), on him be peace, says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, the Exalted Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise '.

(3) An order was issued in the time of the great sulṭān, Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn,
the pardoned and received into Lord's mercy, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh the sulṭān.

(4) In the auspicious time of the government and peaceful time
of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sulṭān,

---

[1] Thus in the epigraph.

[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(5) the Jāmi' mosque was constructed on the hill of the fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) by Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān,

may Allāh prolong his life for justice, generosity and benevolence,

(6) at the request of thānadār Kabīr, (son of) Ḍiyā, the building was constructed by ? a servant of Ulugh Khān,

(who is) magnanimous just, generous brave (and who) suppressed the wretched infidels.

(7) He eradicated the idol-houses and mine of infidelity, along with the idols in the enemy's country with the blow of the sword,

and made ready this abode with different kinds of stone, marble, and *marim* ?

(8) He made its walls and doors out of the stone of the idols ;

the back of every stone became the place for prostration of the believers.

(9) Its raised ? courtyard deserves to be like silver, precious stones and lots of pearls ;

the stone-carver made in it sixty pillars and twentyfive ? domes.

(10) When our *thānadār* said, ' O Shaikh Mas'ūd, write its date so that the same may remain as a memory to you in the world ',

the date was Thursday, fifth of the month of Rajab of the year eight hundred and sixtysix at that time (5th Rajab A.H. 866=5th April 1462 A.D.).

(11) You have not trodden the path nor you are shown the same. Otherwise .... this door was not opened for him therein.

(12) ' And whatever of good you send on beforehand for yourselves, you will find it with Allāh—that is best and greatest in reward. And ask forgiveness of Allāh. Surely, Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful '.[1]

XVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 867 FROM MANDAL

Mandal is situated in 23°17′ N. and 71°58′ E. at a distance of about fourteen miles to the north-west of the *tāluka* headquarters Viramgam in Ahmadabad district.[2] The place is now reduced to a small village, but it seems to have seen better days and was the seat of a small principality : Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh is reported to have encamped in 1347 A.D. for one full rainy season at this place on his way to Saurashtra. The Rāja of Mandal put to death the followers of the rebel Malik Ṭaghī who had taken refuge with him and presented their heads to the Sulṭān.[3] In 1395 A.D., Ẓafar Khān beseiged it, and a few years later in 1414 A.D., the Mandal ruler participated in the revolt against Aḥmad Shāh I. It was in 1530 A.D. that the principality was permanently made part of the crown domains.[4] There is also to be found here an inscription of the reign ofAḥmad Shāh.[5]

This epigraph fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the Sayyid's mosque is again an unpublished one and was copied by me in 1954.[6] The mosque is a small neat structure of stone built in the architectural style of the period. The language of the record is Arabic except the

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXIII, part of verse 20.

[2] For the history of Mandal, see *BG*, vol. IV, Ahmadabad, (Bombay, 1879), pp. 345-46. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 86, has listed its buildings but not mentioned the inscriptions.

[3] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 883-84 ; Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 522.

[4] *BG*, vol. IV, pp. 345-46.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (1893), p. 27.

[6] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 22.

phrase designating the builder of the mosque. Running into four lines, it assigns the construction of the mosque to Naṣīr, son of Shaikhū in 1462 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I. Though nothing is known about Naṣīr or his father Shaikhū, his association with the place in the capacity of a local official cannot be ruled out.

The tablet bearing the inscription measures 68 by 30 cm. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VII (c)

(۱) قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم

(۲) من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بناالله له بيتا مثله فى الجنة بعهد السلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و الدين

(۳) ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

(۴) و سلطانه بانے اين مسجد شريف بنده نصير شيخو فى التاريخ الغره من المحرم سنه سبعو ستين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) Says Allāh the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh '.[1] And the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be on him has said,

(2) 'He who builds for the Exalted Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house like it in Paradise'. In the reign of the king of the kings Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom.

(4) and sovereignty, the builder of this noble mosque is Naṣīr, son of Shaikhū, on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and sixty and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A.H. 867=26th September 1462 A.D.).

XVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 877 FROM SOMNATH

The slab bearing this inscription is now stored in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath.[2] When the inscription was noticed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, it was fixed on the structure locally known as Pānch-Bībī-kā-Koṭhā.[3] But in 1954, I could not trace it despite best efforts since the building along with a few more were demolished in the communal frenzy a few years ago, and I took it as lost.[4] Then in the course of my subsequent visit to Somnath in 1959, on being

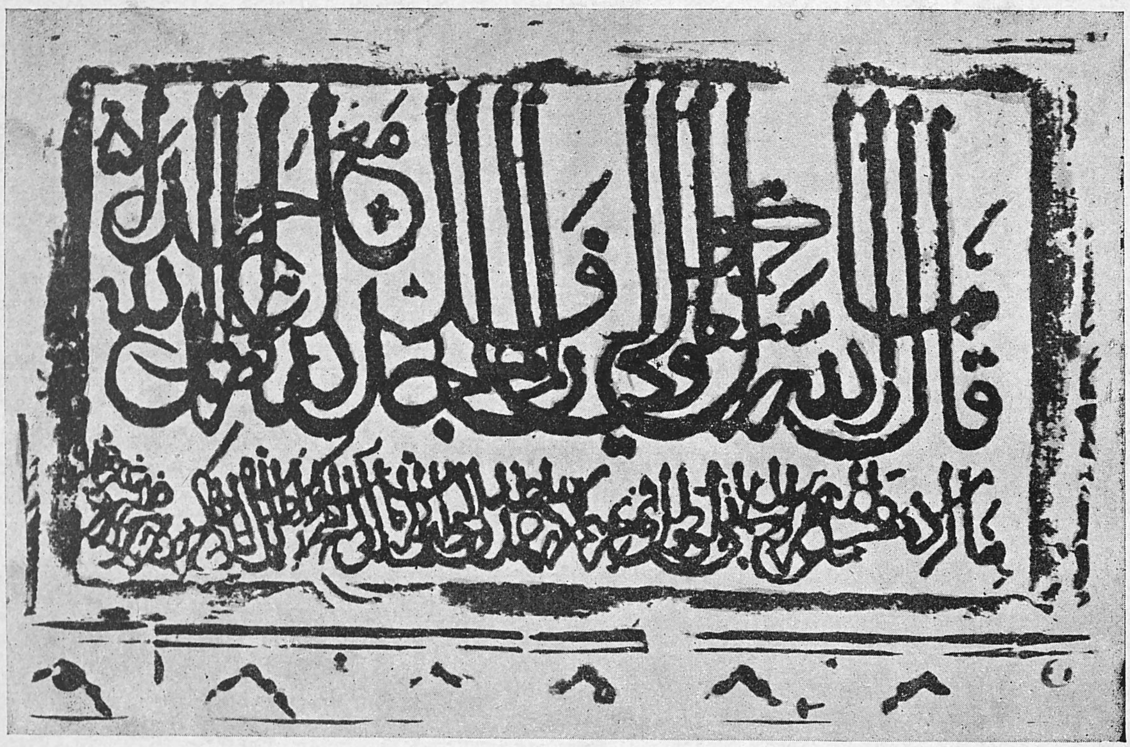
[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 94, where the date is inadvertently read as 29th instead of 19th Rajab.

[3] *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1889), p. 3. The text quoted there is fairly correct.

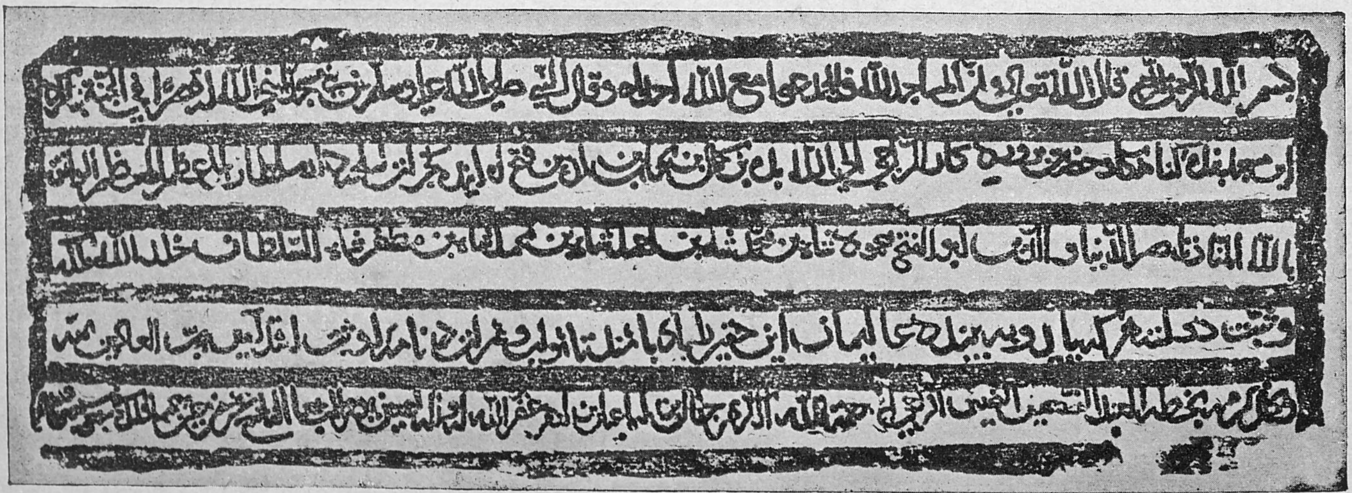
[4] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 50. It was not then in the Museum.

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 895, from Patan (p. 34)



Scale : ·33

(*b*) Another inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 877, from Somnath (p. 31)



Scale : ·28

informed about a new epigraphical acquisition of the Museum, I examined and found it to be the missing tablet.

The epigraph states that Budh bin Kamāl bin Shihāb bin Ladh bin Fatḥu'llāh, the *aslaḥadār* (arms-bearer) of Maḥmūd shāh I, constructed a mosque in 1472 A.D. The text was written by Jalāl, son of Ismā'īl, son of Ādam. This record is thus not without interest. It provides the name of a new official—royal arms-bearer Budh son of Kamāl, whose existence is otherwise unknown to history. Another interesting feature of the record is that it is one of the few records of Gujarat quoting the names of the scribes.

The text occupies a space of 60 by 20 cm. on the slab, is inscribed in ordinary *Naskh* and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX (*b*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال
النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قصرا فى الجنة بنا کرد

(۲) این مسجد بندهٔ گناهگار حضرت پروردگار الراجى الى الله بده بن کمال بن شهاب بن
لده ؟ بن فتح [1]له اینده ؟ گجرات اسلحه دار سلطان الاعظم المعظم الواثق

(۳) بالله المنان ناصر الدینا و الدین ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن
محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه

(۴) و ثبت دولته هر که بیاید و به بیند دعا ایمان این حقیر را یاد باشند تا ثواب و
ثمرات در نامهٔ او ثبت افتد آمین رب العالمین بمنه

(۵) و کمال کرمه بخط العبد الضعیف النحیف الراجى الى رحمة الله الكريم جلال ؟ بن
اسماعيل بن آدم غفر الله له و اله اجمعين يوم الاربعا التاسع عشر من رجب مرجب قدره سنه
سبعو سبعين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh '.[2] And the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him, has said, ' He who builds a mosque, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise '. Constructed was

(2) this mosque by the sinful creature of the Nourisher Lord, hopeful (of the grace) of Allāh, Budh, son of Kamāl, son of Shihāb, son of Ladh ?,[3] son of Fatḥ, who is emigrant to ? Gujarat, the *aslaḥadār* of the great and magnificent sulṭān, reliant

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[1] Thus clearly on the stone.

[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[3] Thus clearly on the stone. The name Lādha or Laddhā is current even now in Gujarat.

(3) upon Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom

(4) and strengthen his government. He who visits and sees (this mosque) should invoke prayers for the faith of this insignificant creature so that the merit and reward (for this act) be inscribed in his scroll of actions—Amen, O Lord of the universe ! By His grace

(5) and His perfect generosity. In the hand of (i.e. written by) the weak and feeble creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Generous Allāh, Jalāl, son of Ismā'īl, son of Ādam, may Allāh forgive him and his descendants, all of them ! (On) Wednesday, the twentyninth of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven and seventy and eight hundred (19th Rajab A.H. 877=20th December 1472 A.D.).

XIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 883 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is from the mosque of Ḥājī Maḥmūd-i-Nuqaṭī, popularly called Billī-Masjid, situated in the Qāzīwāḍa Maḥalla at Cambay.[1] Though the present structure has undergone extensive repairs and restorations at subsequent dates, the monument dates back to the early fourteenth century as is proved by an inscription dated 1326 A.D. carved on the left *miḥrāb* in the west wall. According to yet another epigraph in the mosque, Malik Mufarraḥ, royal *dawīdār*, constructed a mosque in 1380 A.D., but it may or may not be *in situ*. In addition, a fragmentary door-frame of finely chiselled black basalt lying loose in the compound contains *Bismillāh* in *Kūfī* characters.[2]

It is difficult to say if the inscription under study which is fixed in the west wall above the pulpit was intended for this mosque. It was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1919.[3] Its text is modelled on the style of the inscription of Malik Mufarraḥ referred to above. The language is a mixture of Arabic and Persian with a repetition of the phrase 'this mosque was constructed' occurring once in Persian and once in Arabic and the omission of the name of Muḥammad Shāh I in the genealogy of the king which is quite unusual. These defects do not speak well of the author or the writer of the text, the former of whom seems to have compiled it by piecing together sentences from two or more earlier records. But the inscription is not without importance. It records the complete reconstruction of a mosque, after it had fallen down from its very foundation, by Nākhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, son of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Sailānī, a servant (*muta'alliq*) of Khān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl Khān in 1478 A.D. during the governorship of Malik Aman,[4] the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'qṭā'* of Cambay.

No officer of the name Malik Aman is met with in the annals of the period. However, among the nobles of Maḥmūd Shāh I there was one Amīnu'l-Mulk through whose efforts the king became a disciple of the saint Shaikh Sirāj.[5] There was also one Malik Amīn Nassan Fārūqī called by Ḥajjī Dabīr Malik Naṣṣan (variant Minaṣṣ—Amīn Naṣ ? Turkī), who from A.H. 936 onwards figured prominently in the events of the reign of Bahādur Shāh and ultimately died with the latter at Diu in A.H. 943.[6] None of these two seems to be identical with Malik Aman. Again, a *Nāgarī* record

[1] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 51.

[2] For these inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 49, 50, 52.

[3] *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 29), 58. The details given by Mr. Banerji are not free from mistakes.

[4] For want of diacritical marks, it is difficult to determine the exact pronunciation of this name. It can be pronounced as Aman, Amn, Amman, etc.

[5] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-09.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 281, 304, 318, 322, etc. ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 229, 236, 239, 252, 256, etc.

from Wadhwan refers to one Malik Aman as the local governor in V. S. 1572 (1516 A.D.).[1] It is difficult to say if he is identical with Malik Aman of our record. Anyway, the epigraph provides the name of one more official of Cambay. Likewise, it has preserved the name of Khān-i-A'ẓam Kamāl Khān, no doubt a noble of importance, who is also completely ignored by historians. His servant Nākhudā Yaḥyā, the builder of the mosque, evidently cannot claim better recognition than his master. However, it is interesting to note that he hailed from a family of sea-farers if not ship-masters, as the sobriquets Nākhudā and Tandel used respectively in respect of him and his father[2] tend to suggest. It is quite likely that he managed the vessels privately owned by the Khān. Or he may have been connected with the management of the state vessels in case the Khān was in their overall charge, but the text does not give any such details regarding the latter. In this connexion, it may be worthwhile to point out that Cambay was one of the ports at which a regular naval fleet was maintained and vessels built.[3]

The text, engraved in ordinary *Naskh* in relief, occupies a space of 1 m. by 38 cm. on the slab and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و
قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنے مسجدا لله و لوا[4]

(۲) كمفحص قطاة بنى الله له بيتا فے الجنة بارى جل و علا بركت حضرت رسالت عليه
السلام عمارت كرد اين مسجد مبارك در عهد همايون سلطان اعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر
الدنيا و الدين

(۳) ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن [محمد شاه ابن] مظفر شاه
السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و افاض على العالمين بذله و احسانه بحكومة ملك امن مقطع
اقطاع كهنبايت بنے هذا المسجد المبارك بعد

(۴) انهدامه من اساسه من خالص ماله مما اتاه الله من فضله و كرمه بنده اميدوار
برحمت پروردگار ناخدا يحيى ابن تنديل نانيا ابن نصير الدين سيلانے متعلق خان اعظم خاقان
معظم كمال خان عظم الله قدره و كان ذلك فے

(۵) التاريخ الغره من شهر المبارك رمضان المعظم قدره سنه ثلاثه و ثمانين و ثمانمايه
الهجريه النبويه حامدا لله و مصليا على رسوله

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[1] D.B. Diskalkar, ' Inscriptions from Kathiawad', *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, June, 1940, pp. 126-27.
[2] The name Nānyā of the father is also not without interest.
[3] Cf. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
[4] Thus on the stone.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh '.[1] And the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him, has said, ' He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even if it be

(2) like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise '. (Through the grace of) God, may He be glorified and Exalted (and through) the blessing of the repository of Prophethood (i.e. the Prophet), may peace be upon him, this auspicious mosque was built during the blessed reign of the great sulṭān, master of the necks of nations, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(3) Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of [Muḥammad Shāh, son of] Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and shower on the world his munificence and favour, (and) during the governorship (*ḥukūmat*)of Malik Aman, *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā* ' of Cambay, this auspicious mosque was built, after

(4) it had fallen down from the very foundation, out of his personal money that Allāh gave him through His bounty and favour, by the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Nākhudā Yaḥyā, son of Tandel Nānyā—son of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Sailānī, a servant (*muta'alliq*) of Khān-i-A'ẓam Khāqān-i-Mu'aẓẓam Kamāl Khān, may Allāh magnify his dignity! And this was on

(5) the date, the first of the blessed month of Ramaḍān of great dignity, of the year three and eighty and eight hundred from the Migration of the Prophet (1st Ramaḍān A.H. 883=26th November 1478 A.D.). Praise be to Allāh and salutations upon His Prophet!

XX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 895 FROM PATAN

The name of yet another state official and a *kotwāl* of Patan occurs in this epigraph. He is Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī who also does not find mention in historical works. He must be different from the aforesaid saint Shaikh Sirāj who resided at Ahmadabad and had for reasons of secrecy acted as an official during the period he initiated Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh in discipleship.[2]

The epigraphical tablet measures 43 by 25 cm. and is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the Bāzār-kī-Masjid.[3] It was first noticed by me in 1954. The text of the record comprising two lines of writing in a mixture of Arabic and Persian is inscribed in exquisite *Naskh* characters. It will be seen that the lower line containing the historical text in Persian is minutely and closely written, with one word over another, and the lettering is also slightly damaged. As a result, the reading of the last few words containing the date is not certain. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque in 1490 A.D. by Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī, the *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāra (i.e. Patan). It reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(۱) قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-09; ' Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.* pp. 96-97.

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 50.

(۲) بناکرده مسجد ملک سراج سلطانی کوتوال شهر نهرواره در عهد سلطان سلاطین

الزمان ابو الفتح محمود شاه سلطان فی الثلاث[1] و العشرین من شهر رجب رجب سنه[1] خمس و

تسعین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[2]

(2) Malik Sirāj Sulṭānī, *kotwāl* of the city of Nahrwāra, constructed the mosque in the reign of the sulṭān among the sulṭāns of the time, Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh sulṭān, on the twentythird of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) five and ninety and eight hundred (23rd Rajab A.H. 895=12th June 1490 A.D.).

XXI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 901 FROM THE SAME PLACE

The mosque in the enclosure of the tomb of Makhdūm Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn of Delhi,[3] has an inscription fixed over its left *miḥrāb*,[4] which represents a new record of Maḥmūd Shāh I. Comprising four lines of writing engraved in *Naskh* script with *Ṭughrā* flourishes on a slab measuring 43 by 50 cm., it states that the saint had died in 1336 A.D. and that the mosque was constructed in 1495 A.D. in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I. The name of the builder is not given.[5] It will be observed that the text does not describe the full genealogy of the king as is usual in the case of the Sultanate inscriptions. Also, the epigraph is important in that it quotes the full name of the saint as Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, son of Uthmān, son of Dā'ūd al-Multānī. The author of the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* gives his name as Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Uthmān, son of Dā'ūd Multānī, which is incorrect.[6]

The slab seems to have been plastered over and again, and the writing is not only very close but slightly damaged. My reading of the text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا فالله خیر حافظا و

هو ارحم الراحمین

---

[1] The reading of the underlined words is tentative.

[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[3] For an account of the saint, see Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), p. 343 ; 'Alī Aḥmad Khān, *op.cit.*, p. 113 ; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *Tadhkira-i-Auliyā-i-Dakan* (Hyderabad), pp. 278-80.

[4] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C,91.

[5] According to *ibid.*, No. C, 92, the mosque was renovated by the celebrated Sayyid Qāsim, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd Bāriha, in 1588 A.D.

[6] 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.* 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *op. cit.*, also wrongly gives his name as Uthmān and makes him a son of Dā'ūd.

(٣) قد رحل العالم الربانے شیخ حسام الدین بن عثمان بن داؤد الملتانے قدس الله سره

نور ؟ الی یوم القیمة نوره من دار الفنا الی دار [ا]لبقا یوم

(٤) الاربعاء فی الثامن ذی القعده سنه سته و ثلاثین و سبعمایه و بنی هذ المسجد فی عهد

سلطان محمود شاه بن محمد شاه سلطان فی التاریخ الثانے ؟ من شهر المحرم احدی و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[1] 'For Allāh is best as Protector and He is the Most Merciful among the merciful ones.'[2]

(3) The divine gnostic Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn, son of Uthmān, son of Dā'ūd al-Multānī, may Allāh sanctify his secret and cause his light to remain till the day of Resurrection, departed from the abode of transitoriness to the abode of the perpetuity (i.e. expired) on

(4) Wednesday, the eight of Dhi'l-Qa'da, year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (8th Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 736[3]=18th June 1336 A.D.). And this mosque was built in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh sulṭān on the date, the second ? of the month of Muḥarram, (year A.H.) one and nine hundred (2nd Muḥarram A.H 901=22nd September 1495 A.D.).

XXII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 904 FROM CAMBAY

This interesting epitaph was also first discovered in 1919 A.D. by Mr. R. D. Banerji, but it has not been published. Mr. Banerji thus quoted its contents in his report : 'On Tombstone of Jamāl-ibn Fath-ulla bin Miyan (alias Mamālak Muḥammad), the companion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh (Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh II of Gujarat) died Friday, 6th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 904 A.H.'[4] It is hoped that the inaccuracies in this statement will be rectified by the reading quoted below.

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 43 cm. from apex to bottom and 30 cm. in width is fixed, first from the right side, into the west wall of the tomb of Shaikh 'Alī Jaulaqī locally known as Parwar Shāh or Parwāz Shāh situated to the north of the town of Cambay.[5] The tomb may be rightly called a gallery of inscribed tombstones ; as many as twentyfive tombstones are preserved there. Some of these have been published while all of them are listed.[6]

The language of the inscription is Arabic. The text runs into seven lines and records that Jamāl, son of Fatḥu'llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyān, commonly known as Malik Makhdūm, died as a martyr in 1498 A.D. The interesting feature of this record is that it speaks of the late Malik Makhdūm as the boon-companion or favourite courtier (*nadīm*) of Maḥmūd Shāh I. Unfortunately

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter XII, verse 64.

[3] Ghulām Sarwar, *op. cit.*, wrongly puts the death of the saint in A.H. 735.

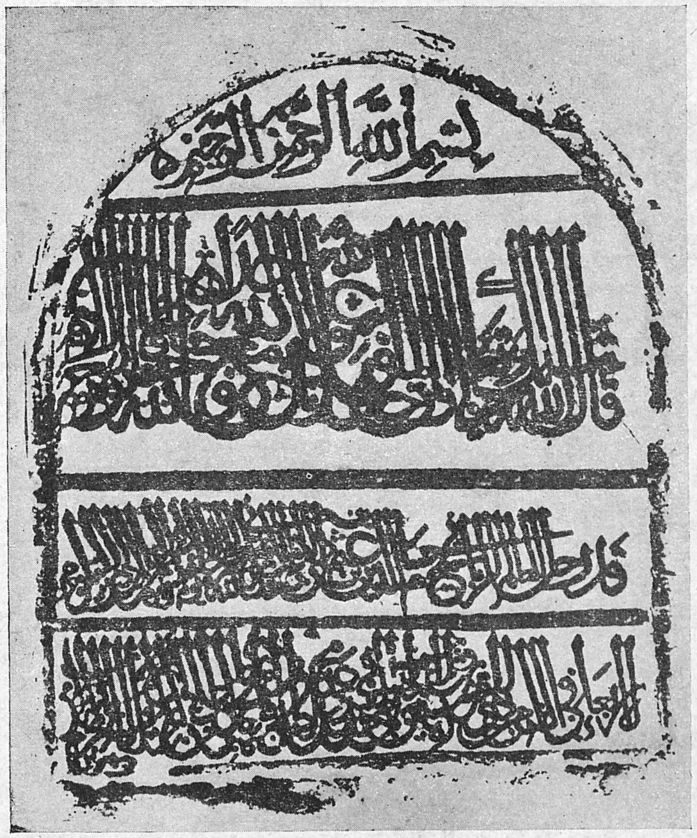
[4] *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49 (App. Q, No. 10). Maḥmūd Shāh II is a mistake for Maḥmūd I which has been corrected in *ibid.*, p. 58.

[5] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 76.

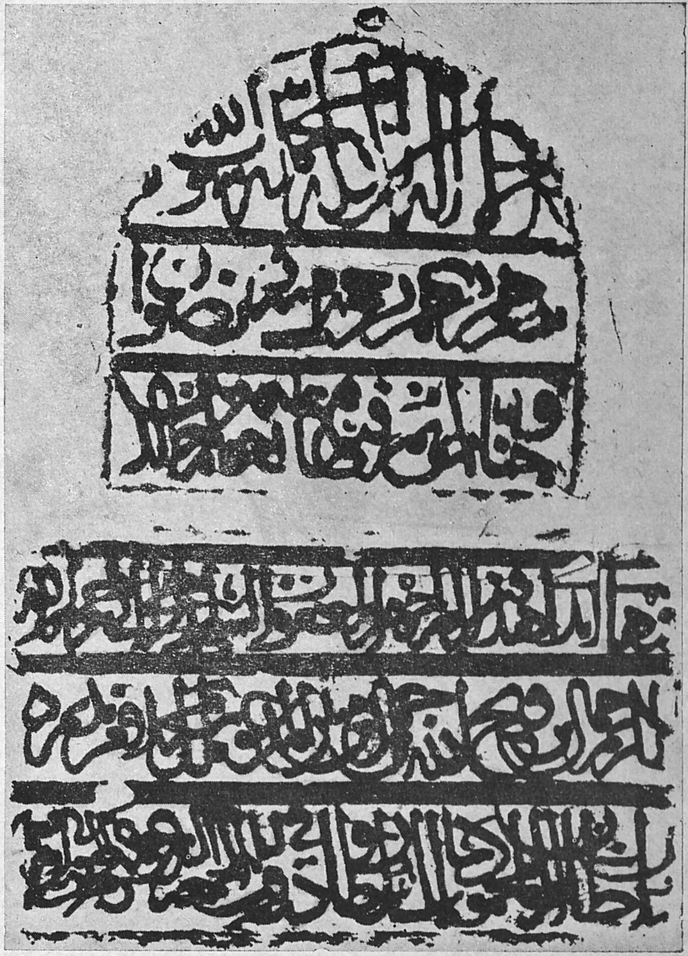
[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 69-83; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 122-129; *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 17, 20, 23 ; *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49-50; App. Q, Nos. 1-25.

(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 904, from Cambay (p. 37)

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 901, from Patan (p. 35)

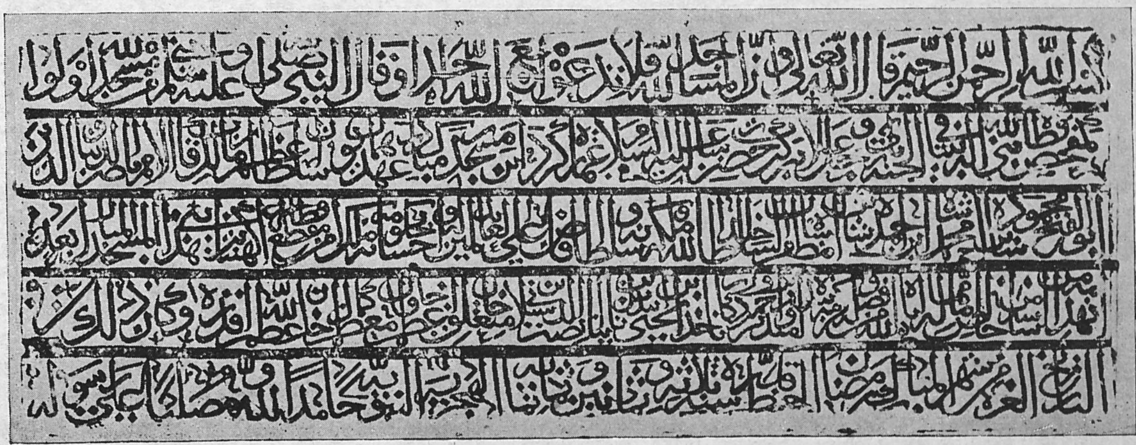


SCALE : ·19



SCALE : ·28

(*c*) A third record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 883, from Cambay (p. 33)



SCALE : ·13

no particulars of Malik Makhdūm are available in historical works. However, they mention one Jamāl whose son Tāj was given the title of Wajīhu'l-Mulk by Bahādur Shāh in about A.H. 932,[1] but whether he is identical with the deceased it is difficult to say.

The style of writing of the epigraph is *Thulth*-cum-*Riqā'* of a fairly good order. The epitaph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

(۳) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين

(۴) فيها ابدا هذا قبر المرحوم المغفور الشهيد الراجے الے رحمة الله

(۵) الكريم جمال بن فتح الله بن جمال بن ميان المدعو بملك مخدوم نديم

(۶) سلطان الزمان محمود شاه السلطان و دفن ؟ فے ليلة الجمعة السادس

(۷) من جمادى الاولے سنه اربعو تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(2) ' Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and

(3) (His) good pleasure and garden, wherein lasting pleasure will be theirs ;

(4) abiding therein for ever.'[2] This is the grave of the one who is taken into Allāh's mercy, the pardoned, the martyr, the hopeful of the mercy of Allāh

(5) the Generous, Jamāl, son of Fatḥu'llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyān, commonly called Malik Makhdūm, the *nadīm* (boon-companion) of

(6) the sulṭān of the time, Maḥmūd Shāh the sulṭān, who was buried on the night of Friday the sixth

(7) of Jumādā First, year (A.H.) four and nine hundred (6th Jumādā I A. H. 904=20th December 1498 A.D.).

XXIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 905 FROM RAYANIA

Rayania, situated in 23°25′ N. and 73°35′ E., is a small village in the Rampur *tāluka* of the Panchmahal district. There was in the village until very recently a beautiful brick mosque which bore this epigraph. It is now reported to be lying in ruins which is a great pity since the monument, whose photograph I have seen, could easily rate among the few surviving brick monuments

[1]Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

[2]*Qur'ān*, chapter IX, verse 21 and part of verse 22.

of the Sultanate period.[1] The inscription seems to have been first discovered and reported by his Exploration Assistant to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who forwarded its inked rubbing to me for examination. After the mosque was demolished, the tablet was kept in the house of a teacher of the local school, but in 1962 it was removed by the Assistant Director of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, Rajkot, to be preserved there in the Watson Museum.[2]

The tablet measures 50 by 38 cm. and appears to be whole. But since the text begins rather abruptly without the customary religious formulae or even the usual phrase referring to the reign of the king, it is quite likely that there was another tablet which contained these texts. This hitherto unpublished record states that Malik Sārang Sulṯānī entitled Qiwāmu'l-Mulk constructed a mosque and a fort in 1499-1500 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I.

Malik Sārang Qiwāmu'l-Mulk is too well-known a figure of the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I to need any detailed mention here. He lived to serve Bahādur Shāh, grandson of the latter.[3] He not only founded the quarter called Sārangpur in the city of Ahmadabad but also constructed at least two mosques there as recorded in their inscriptions.[4] It was as early as in A.H. 875 that his rank was raised and his title Mukhliṣu'l-Mulk substituted by a higher title Qiwāmu'l-Mulk.[5] In the same year he was granted the *thāna* of Godhra which is now the headquarters of the district in which the present epigraph was found. The fact that Rayania was provided by a fort as stated in the inscription shows that it was a place of strategic importance in this border region.

The style of writing is beautiful Thulth with Ṯughrā flourishes, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (c).

(۱) الواثق بالله المنان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(۲) خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بنا کرده حصار. بامسجد مبارک سارنگ المخاطب من الحضرة العليا بقوام الملک سنه خمس و تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) The reliant on Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh the sulṭān,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty ! The fort along with the auspicious mosque was constructed by Malik Sārang, entitled by the exalted presence (i.e. king) Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, (in) the year (A.H.) five and nine hundred (A.H. 905=1499-1500 A.D.).

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[1] It is worthwhile to remember that almost all the architecturally important brick structures of the Sultanate period were constructed in the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh I.

[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 155.

[3] For his career, please see Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08, 126, 145-46, 179, 187, 194, 198, 199, 201, 213, 224-25, 265, 268, etc.; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 22, 25, 33, 100, 104, 112, 113, 115, etc.

[4] Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 61.

[5] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

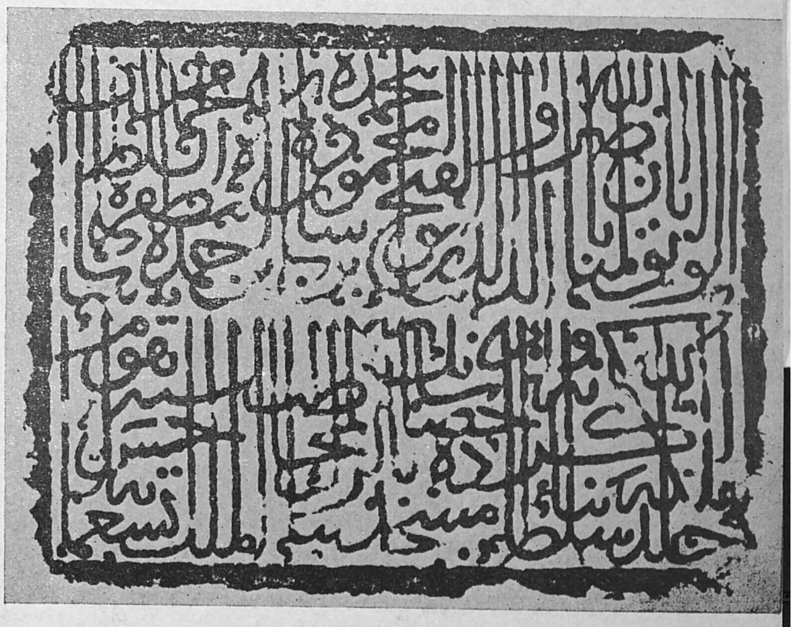
(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 921, from Cambay (p. 42)

SCALE : ·17

(*a*) Inscription of Muẕaffar S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 918, from Cambay (p. 40)

SCALE : ·15

(*c*) Inscription of Maḥmūd S͟hāh I, dated A.H. 905, from Rayania (p. 38)



SCALE : ·19

Muẕaffar Sh̲āh II

XXIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 917 FROM JAMBUSAR

Jambusar is a *tāluka* headquarters in the Broach district. The only monument worth notice in this old town is the Jāmi' mosque, of brick, situated in the Qāzīwāḍā quarter. Though the building seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time, the structure retains to a certain extent, particularly in its buttress-like tapering minarets, some of the original architectural features. Over its central *miḥrāb* is fixed this epigraph which seems to have been discovered some time back by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, when its headquarters was at Poona.[1]

The tablet bearing this beautifully executed record measures 92 by 38 cm. and contains two lines in Arabic purporting that the mosque was ordered to be built by Muẕaffar Sh̲āh II and completed in 1511-12 A.D. It will be seen that not only the king's name is unaccompanied by the usual genealogy but his title and *kunya* which were Sh̲amsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr are also absent.

The style of writing of the record is *Thulth̲* of a high order and testifies to the calligraphical skill of its scribe whose name is unfortunately not mentioned. Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (*b*)

قد تم عمارة هذه المسجد بامر سلطان الاعظم مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه السلطان مداالله

عمره فی سنه سبع عشر و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

The building of this mosque was completed by the order of the great king Muẕaffar Sh̲āh, son of Maḥmūd Sh̲āh the sulṭān, may Allāh prolong his life, in the year (A.H.) seventeen and nine hundred (A.H. 917=1511-12 A.D.).

XXV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 918 FROM CAMBAY

A building in the Purānī-Manḍī now housing the Gujaratī Mukhya Kanyāshālā—Girls' Primary Main School contains two epigraphs both of which are very interesting. One of these dated 1387 A.D., reports the construction of public water-room in the Manḍawī premises.[2] The other is the record under study. Both these inscriptions were briefly described by Mr. R. D. Banerji who was the first to notice them. But Mr. Banerji seems to have been misinformed about the true purport of the record, which according to him records some grants of land and supplies us with two different regnal years of this monarch : the Sanh-i-Julūs 6 and Sanh-i-manṣūr 2.[3] This is not correct as we shall presently see.

The inscriptional tablet measures 50 cm. by 1·22 m. and is fixed on the wall of the water-room of the school.[4] It is inscribed in fairly good *Nask̲h̲* with seventeen lines in Persian which form the

[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 57, where due to oversight the date was given as A.H. 914 (1508-09 A.D.).

[2] *Ibid.*, 1956-57, No. D, 62.

[3] *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 50, No. 39, 58.

[4] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 63.

text of an order issued by Muẓaffar Shāh II in his second regnal year corresponding to A.H. 918 (1512 A.D.) to announce the remission of certain imposts then current in the district (*khiṭṭa*) of Khanbāyat i.e. Cambay with a view to ensure the prosperity and well-being of the people of the region and also of the travellers. The schedule of these imposts is given in lines 8-15 of the text. The epigraph is thus an extremely valuable record furnishing information not to be found in historical works about the taxes and imposts. In view of the fact that the chroniclers of the period pass over the administrative and financial matters, any direct information on the subject, however meagre, supplied by such orders is always welcome. Therefore, it is regrettable that owing to the absence of diacritical marks in the text and also some *Ṭughrā* tendencies displayed by the scribe, it has not been possible for me to satisfactorily decipher the portion containing the schedule of imposts in full, and that, I am conscious, detracts not less from the utility of this epigraph. Nevertheless it is hoped that scholars better qualified than myself might be able to utilise the epigraph in a more fruitful way.

Another imporant aspect of this record lies in the fact that it is dated in the regnal year in addition to the Hijra era. Quite a few records of this king have been found to bear this type of dating i.e. the regnal year, called Shamsiyya after his title Shamsu'd-Dīn.[1] This type of dating to the best of my knowledge is found only in the inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh II in the whole range of the pre-Mughal epigraphs of not only Gujarat but also of the other provincial and central dynasties—a fact to which I have already drawn attention elsewhere.[2]

The text of the order is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) إعلاء الله تعالے شانه و توالی احسانه سایه معدلت حضرت سلطنة

(۳) پناهی ظل الهی شمس الدنیا و الدین ابو النصر مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه

(۴) بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله

(۵) ملکه برمفارق اهل اسلام پاینده و مستدام دارد بنا بر رفاهیت

(۶) حال و فراغ بال سکنه و مسافران خطه کهنبایت بعضے ابواب که

(۷) در خطهٔ مذکور دستور شده بود و مقرر گشته معاف و مسلم فرموده اند ؟

(۸) بدین تفصیل قیمت غیر عدل در فرضه و مندهٔ رصد و دهارة و خدمتی بقچها

(۹) که از فرضه بخطهٔ دیب و بنادر دیگر میبرند و حاسبے ؟ هندیه و دوادو ؟

(۱۰) و پوتداری ؟ امیر بحری و هندیه داخل نوبرزی و شحنه دیوانے و فروعی

[1] The present record has in addition the designation (after his *kunyā* Abu'n-Naṣr) *Sana Manṣūr* literally meaning 'victorious year.'

[2] *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 68.

(۱۱) و تهانداری و شحنه دیوانی کوتوالی و برین جمله و در فرضه و مندهٔ [1] و رصد

(۱۲) و خدمتی نقود ؟ فرضه و مروارید و بر ؟ فروشی مثل گزر و جزان که بسرنمی

(۱۳) آرند و دوشش زواده سوداگران و نو بهره نقود ازان یعنی زر ونقره نگیرند

(۱۴) و خدمتی صرافان در منده رصد و داغ مواشی و خدمتی پوتداران

(۱۵) محلها و خدمتی کندوئی که داخل ریاست ؟ است فمن بدله بعد ماسمعه

(۱۶) فانما اثمه علی الذین یبدلونه و ذلک الرابع و العشرین من ربیع

(۱۷) الاخر تمام ثمانیه عشر و تسعمایه سنه منصور ثانی جلوسیه شمسیه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) May Allāh whose dignity is Exalted and whose favours are continuous, keep the shadow of the justice of His Majesty,

(3) asylum of sovereignty, shadow of god, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh,

(4) son of Muḥammad Shah, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate

(5) his kingdom, permanently and for ever over the foreheads of the followers of Islām ! With a view to (ensure) the prosperity of

(6) the condition and well-being of the inhabitants of and travellers to the district (*khiṭṭa*) of Khanbāyat (i.e. Cambay), some imposts which

(7) were ordered and fixed in the said district have been remitted and removed,

(8) according to this schedule :[2] the unfair price in the harbour- and land-custom-house ;[3] monthly rent ? (*dihārat*) and service-tax of the boxes

(9) which are carried from the harbour to the district of Dīb (Dīu) and other ports and the accountancy ? (*ḥāsibī*) of exchange-bill ? (*hundiya*) and *dawādaw*?,

(10) treasurership (*pot-dārī*) of the admiralty, and the exchange-bill ? (*hundiya*) of the produce of new agricultural lands ? (*naubarzī*) and superintendence of the office (*shaḥna-i-dīwānī*) and its subsidiaries,

(11) and the superintendence of the office of the *thānadār* and *kotwāl*, and the like. And in the harbour- and the land-custom-house

(12) the service-tax on the coins ? (*nuqūd*) and pearls and sale of fruits like carrot ? (*gazar*) which should not be taken into account

(13) and one third of the provisions of the trader and new share of coins thereof ? i.e. gold and silver, should not be taken,

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[1] Thus on the stone. In view of the text in lines 8 and 14, one "و" may be redundant.

[2] As stated above, the text giving the schedule could not be satisfactorily deciphered and hence, its translation should also be considered tentative.

[3] For the definition of *furda* and *mandawī-i-raṣad*, see 'Alī Muḥammad Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

(14) and (also) the service-tax on the shroffs, in the market and the brand of animals and service-tax on the treasurers of (different)

(15) departments and service-tax on the *kando'ī*[1] which are within the state. 'Then whoever alters it after he had heard of it,

(16) the sin of it is only upon those who alter it.'[2] And this (order) was issued on the 24th Rabī'-

(17) u'l-Ākhar in the year (A.H.) eighteen and nine hundred, the victorious year (*sana Manṣūr*) second of the Shamsiyya regnal year (24th Rabī' II A.H. 918=9th July 1512 A.D.).

XXVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 50 cm. which is fixed in the west wall to the left of the central *miḥrāb* in the Ḥusainī-Masjid situated in the Bhule-kā-Maḥalla at Cambay.[3] It records the fact that Khwāja Ṣandal, a servant of Khwāja 'Alī Khān, son of Niẓām Gīlānī, constructed a mosque in 1515 A.D. during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh II. In this epigraph too, the king's title and *kunyā* as well as his genealogy are conspicuous by their absence. The identity of Khwāja Ṣandal, the builder, is difficult to establish, and so is that of his master Khwāja 'Alī Khān Gīlānī.[4]

It was the late Mr. R.D. Banerji who discovered this epigraph in 1919. But he was wrong to assign the construction of the mosque to Khwāja 'Alī Khān.[5]

The script employed in inscribing the text is *Naskh*, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين

(۲) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو[ا] مع الله احدا و قال النبى صلے

(۳) الله عليه و سلم من بنى لله مسجدا و لو كمفحص قطاة

(۴) بنى الله له قصرا فے الجنة و قال الله تبارك و تعالى

(۵) فمن يعمل مثقال ذرة خيرا يره و من يعمل مثقال ذرة شرا يره

(٦) عمر و بنى هذه المسجد المبارك خادم خواجه عليخان بن نظام گيلانے و هو خواجه صندل

(۷) فے الزمان السلطان الاعظم مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ذلك فے الغره

(۸) من المحرم سنه احدى و عشرين و تسعمايه

---

[1] Could this be the vernacular word *kandōi* which in Gujarati means a confectioner ?

[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 181.

[3] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 60.

[4] In about A.H. 905, a noble Sayyid Barānahar entitled 'Alī Khān Mandwālī fled to Gujarat from Malwa and received Broach in fief. His son also held this title (Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 211, 214, etc.). But he seems to be a different person.

[5] *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 38), 58.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

(2) ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[1] And the Prophet, may salutations

(3) and peace of Allāh be upon him, says, 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse,

(4) Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'. And Allāh the Blessed and Exalted has said,

(5) ' So he who does an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who does an atom's weight of evil shall see it'.[2]

(6) This blessed mosque was built and constructed by the servant of Khwāja 'Alī Khān, son of Niẕām Gīlānī, and he is Khwāja Ṣandal,

(7) in the time of the great sulṭān Muẕaffar Shāh the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom. And this was on the first

(8) of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) twentyone and nine hundred (1st Muḥarram A.H. 921=15th February 1515 A.D.).

XXVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM SANKHEDA

This bilingual inscription was first brought to light by the Archaeological department of the erstwhile Baroda state. However, no details of its text except the date were made available in the report of that department in which it was noticed.[3] It was copied by me in 1962.

The tablet on which this epigraph is engraved is now built into the right bastion of the south gate of the fort at Sankheda, a *tāluka* headquarters in the Baroda district.[4] Situated in 22°9′N. and 73°37′ E. on the left bank of the Orsang river, Sankheda figures frequently in the annals of the Sultanate period.[5] The only object of interest in the town is the old fort.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 45 by 55 cm. is inscribed with writing in Persian and Sanskrit. The Persian version consists of six lines inscribed in letters of uneven size. The letters in the first four lines are larger than those in the last two lines. The Sanskrit counterpart which runs into nine lines is written in an even hand. The slab seems to have been subjected to neglect and exposure to sun and rain for, its letters have been considerably damaged. The Persian version which is inscribed on the top begins abruptly with the titles of the king. The slab is also damaged in parts ; particularly, it has cracked from just above the middle portion and in the top corner. It is therefore quite likely that a portion of the slab is missing. Even if it be so, the missing text was not of much consequence, as the purport of the record can be fully made out from the surviving lines. The epigraph states that during the reign of Abu'n-Naṣr Muẕaffar Shāh, a well and a mosque were constructed by Fatḥ Khān, son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān, in 1515 A.D. This inscription also, like the other two inscriptions of Muẕaffar Shāh studied in this article (Nos. XXV and XXVIII), bears the regnal year with its usual designation 'Shamsiyya '.

According to the information furnished by the Government Epigraphist for India who was requested to examine it, the *Nāgarī* inscription contains the date Vikrama Saṁvat 1572, Śaka

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter XCIX, verses 7-8.

[3] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State*, for the year ending 31st March, 1939 (Baroda, 1940), pp. 3, 37.

[4] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 34.

[5] For the history of the town, see *BG*, vol. VII, Baroda (Bombay, 1883), pp. 556-67.

1437, Dakshiṇāyana, Varshā-ṛitu, Bhādrapada śu[15] Friday, Lunar eclipse.[1] But since the writing is damaged, apart from the name Fāt Khān, son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān, no other details could be made out.

The Persian version is incised on the slab in *Naskh* characters, which are of a fairly good order. But since the text is carelessly written without proper attention to the straightness of lines and evenness of the size of letters, the calligraphical effect on the whole is not as pleasing as it should be, more so because the incised letters have been somewhat disfigured due to damage.

The Persian text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (a)

(۱) [الواثق بتائید] الرحمن ابو النصر مظفر شاه

(۲) سلطان بن محمو[د] شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه سلطان

(۳) بن احمد شاه سلطان بن محمد شاه سلطان بن[2]

(۴) بن مظفر شاه سلطان چاه و مسجد بنا کرده فتحخان

(۵) بن راجنخان بن اسد خان مرحوم بتاریخ سیزدهم ماه رجب رجب

(۶) قدره سنه احدی و عشرین و تسعمایه سنه خمس شمسیه

TRANSLATION

(1) The reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh

(2) sulṭān, son of Maḥmūd Shāh sulṭān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sulṭān,

(3) son of Aḥmad Shāh sulṭān, son of Muḥammad Shāh sulṭān,

4) son of Muẓaffar Shāh sulṭān, the well and the mosque were constructed by Fatḥ Khān,

(5) son of Rājan Khān, son of Asad Khān who is taken into the mercy (of God), on the date thirteenth of the month of Rajab, may God increase

(6) its dignity, of the year (A.H.) twentyone and nine hundred, Shamsiyya (i.e. regnal) year five (13th Rajab A. H. 921=23rd August 1515 A.D.).

It is not possible to identify Fatḥ Khān, the builder, but very likely he was the official in charge of the town and the neighbouring region.

XXVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 928 FROM HIMATNAGAR

Himatnagar, the capital of the erstwhile Idar State in north Gujarat is now the headquarters of the Sabarkantha district.[3] The antiquity of the city goes back to the year A.H. 830 in which Aḥmad Shāh I founded and named it Ahmadnagar after his own name.[4] The original name of the town was in recent times changed by a ruling chief after his name Himatsinhjī.[5]

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[1] The lunar eclipse had occurred on the previous paurṇami (i.e.) of Śrāvaṇa.

[2] This wordi s repeated in the next line.

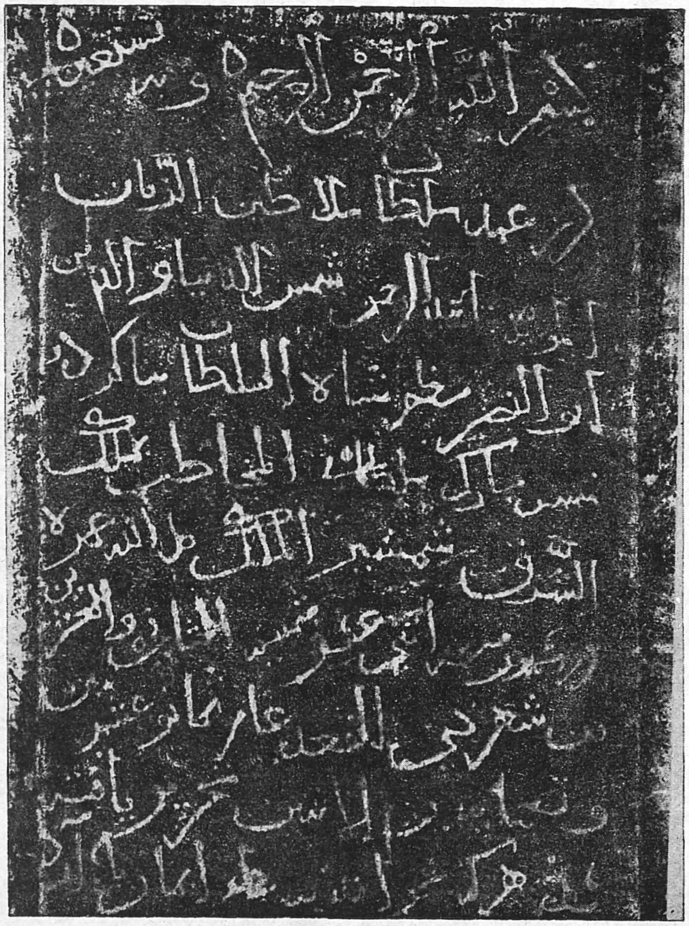
[3] For historical account of the place and description of its buildings, see *BG*, Vol. V, pp. 430-32.

[4] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[5] The ground for changing the name of the town was to prevent its being confused, for postal purposes, with Ahmadnagar in Maharashtra.

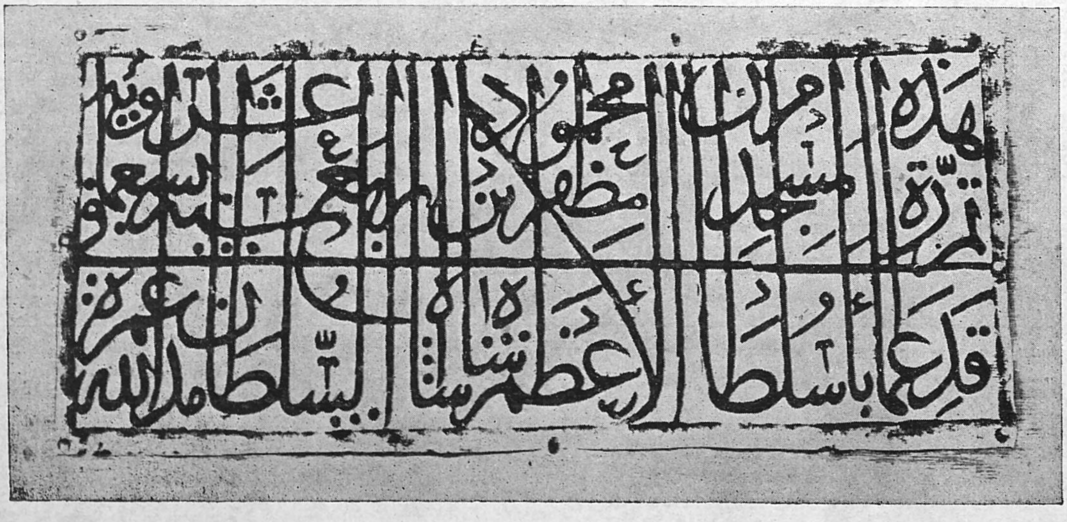
Plate XII

(*a*) Inscription of Muẕaffar S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 928, from Himatnagar (p. 45)



Scale : ·18

(*b*) Inscription of Muẕaffar S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 917, from Jambusar (p. 39)



Scale : ·13

The epigraph consists of ten lines in Persian and represents a new record of Muẓaffar S͟hāh II. It seems to have been noticed by an officer of the Survey some years back; its inked rubbing was found along with other old rubbings in my office. But the record has not been edited so far.

The slab measuring 50 by 65 cm. is fixed into the side of the first landing of the step-well called Qāẓī's Vāvḍī[1] which is a very handsome structure in the architectural tradition of the Gujarat step-wells. Another slab fixed into the opposite wall contains a Sanskrit version of the record. Both these inscriptions were first noticed in the district gazetteer, but unfortunately the statements made therein are incorrect and misleading. For example, the Persian version is stated to bear the date A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) while the correct year is A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). The gazetteer also quotes the tradition that S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk, the builder, was a son of Aḥmad S͟hāh I.[2] This was probably suggested by the wrong reading of the date but according to the text, the step-well was constructed by S͟hams, son of Mubārak Sulṭānī entitled Maliku's͟h-S͟harq S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk in the twelfth regnal year equivalent to A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). This epigraph also quotes and designates the regnal year as S͟hamsiyya. The style of writing is ordinary *Nask͟h* lacking in grace and elegance which is a high water-mark of the Sultanate inscriptions. The text is incised on the slab.

No noble bearing the title S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk figures in the events of the reign of Muẓaffar II. But since we hear of one S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk in connexion with the events that took place immediately after the death of the latter[3] it is reasonable to hold that he enjoyed this title in his reign also. This S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk was sent in A.H. 939 by Muẓaffar S͟hāh's son Bahādur S͟hāh against Ajmer of which he was governor until at least A. H. 941. He is also mentioned by Ḥājjī Dabīr among the foremost nobles of Bahādur S͟hāh. He is evidently identical with S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk Sulṭānī who was in A.H. 956 made the governor of Junagadh with practically whole of Saurashtra under his authority.[4] One S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk, brother of Fatḥū Muḥāfiẓ K͟hān, is also mentioned in connection with the events of a subsequent date.[5] Of the two, the former may be identical wtih Maliku's͟h-S͟harq S͟hams͟hīru'l-Mulk Sulṭānī of our inscription.

The text of this record reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وِ به نستعين

(۲) در عهد سلطان سلاطين الزمان

(۳) المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن شمس الدنيا و الدين

(۴) ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان بنا کرده

(۵) شمس مبارك سلطانے المخاطب بملك

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[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 74.

[2] *BG*, Vol. V, pp. 430-31. It is surprising that the discrepancy between the two dates A. H. 820 (1417 A.D.) and V.S. 1578 (1522 A.D.) of the two versions of the same epigraph did not occur to the compiler. The correct date of the Persian version corresponds to that of its counterpart. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 84, also follows the gazetteer.

[3] Firis͟hta, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

[4] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 318; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 227, 236, 256, 298. Both these authors append the sobriquet *Nauliyā* to his name.

[5] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 324, 393.

(٦) الشرق شمشیر الملک مد الله عمره
(٧) در شهور سنه اثنی عشر شمسیه الثانی و العشرین
(٨) من شهر ذی القعده عام ثمانو عشرین
(٩) و تسعمایه یوم الاثنین تحریر یافته
(١٠) شد هر که بخواند بدعاء ایمان یاد آرد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

(2) In the reign of the king of the kings of the time,

(3) one who is supported by the help of the Beneficent, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(4) Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān, (this step-well) was constructed

(5) by Shams, (son of) Mubārak Sulṭānī entitled Malik-

(6) u'sh-Sharq Shamshīru'l-Mulk, may Allāh prolong his life !

(7) In the months of the year twelve Shamsiyya, on the twenty second

(8) of the month of Dhi'l-Qa'da, year (A.H.) twentyeight

(9) and nine hundred, Monday (22nd Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H.928=13th October 1522 A.D.), it was inscribed.

(10) Whosoever reads (this) may remember (the builder) with prayers for (his) faith.

Bahādur Shāh

XXIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 936 FROM BHAMER

The only epigraph of Bahādur Shāh in the present study is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of a mosque at Bhamer in the Sakri *tāluka* of the Dhulia district of Maharashtra.[1] This inscription was also discovered by an officer of the Survey in the past. But it has not been noticed so far. The epigraphical tablet measures 78 by 21 cm.

Bhamer, situated in 21°N. and 74°20′ E., at the foot of a fortified hill at a distance of four miles to the south of Nizampur,[2] seems to have been a place of strategic importance in the Sultanate period. It lay on the regular route from Gujarat to Deccan. It was at this town that the army sent by Aḥmad Shāh to the help of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī who had declared hostilities against Vijayanagara received the news of the latter's death and returned to Gujarat.[3] Again, in A. H. 867, when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa had invaded Deccan, Niẓām Shāh Bahmanī sought help from Maḥmūd Shāh I who himself marched towards Deccan, but when he was at Bhamer, he was informed by the envoy of the Bahmanī king that Maḥmūd Khaljī had retreated.[4] Also, when Maḥmūd Shāh was returning to Gujarat after this march to Khandesh in A.H. 904, he ordered his army to proceed, while he himself went to see the forts of Bhāmer and Dīrmāl which were conquered by 'Imādu'l-Mulk Isan.[5] It appears that Bhāmer continued to be part of the kingdom until the time of Bahādur Shāh.

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 114. For his new record from Bhamer, see *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 184.

[2] *BG*, Vol. XII, Khandesh (Bombay, 1880), p. 434.

[3] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 59 ; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[4] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 166. Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 113, has Nandarbar instead of Bhamer.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 147. This conquest is also referred to in another record from Bhamer, recently brought to light (*ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 183).

The record consists of two lines in Persian written in crude *Naskh* letters in relief. It assigns the construction of the mosque to the mother (name not specified) of Dilāwar Khān in 1529-30 A.D. during the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh. The text does not quote the *kunya* of Bahādur Shāh which was Abu'l-Faḍl as we know from his coins as well as from one of the epigraphs to be studied next. The inscription also mentions Dilāwar Khān as a martyr which may indicate that he was slain in one of the battles of the day. The builder is stated to be a daughter of Malik Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khatrī married to Alp Khān. One more person Fatḥu'llāh is mentioned in the text after the latter, but the word between the two names is not very clear in the rubbing. I have tentatively read it as *nabasa* (grandson). It is difficult to say if Alp Khān of the inscription is identical with a prominent noble of Bahādur Shāh's time, Alp Khān Khatrī[1], whose caste-name Khatrī is also borne by the former's father-in-law.

The epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (*b*)

(۱) من بنی لله مسجدا بنی الله مثله فی الجنه بانے این مسجد والده دلاور خان شهید

بنت ملک غیاث الدین کهتری منکوحه الپخان نبسه ؟

(۲) فتح الله در عهد قطب الدنیا و الدین بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه سلطان

رحمة الله علیهم فی سنه ست و ثلاثین و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds a like thereof in Paradise.' The builder of the mosque (is) the mother of the martyr Dilāwar Khān, daughter of Malik Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khatrī (and) wife of Alp Khān, grandson ? of

(2) Fatḥullāh, in the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, may Allāh's mercy be upon them, in the year (A.H.) six and thirty and nine hundred (A.H. 936=1529-30 A.D.).

Maḥmūd Shāh III

XXX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 946 FROM AHMADABAD

It is rather surprising that this beautiful record to be found on a step-well inside the Bohra cemetery in Saraspur quarter of Ahmadabad, should have escaped the notice of Dr. M. A. Chaghtai who has published almost all the historical inscriptions of Ahmadabad in his monograph. I came to be apprised of its existence through the keen interest shown in cultural affairs by my friend Mr. J. B. Kadri, a well-known lawyer and social worker of Ahmadabad, who not only informed me about it but also used his good offices with the local head-priest of the Bohra community for getting it copied. I am grateful to both of them.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 47 by 68 cm. which is fixed into the right side of the first landing of the beautiful step-well.[2] When I first saw the tablet in 1957, the well

[1] His full name was Alp Khān son of Muḥammad Khatrī according to an inscription from Broach (*EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 30.).

[2] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 15.

was uncovered but on my subsequent visit five years later I found that it was covered up, probably to avoid mishap to any of the large number of pilgrims and visitors including children who all round the year throng the tombs of the Bohra saints situated in the cemetery. As is usual in the case of step-wells, this structure has also a Sanskritic epigraph fixed into the opposite side.[1]

The present record comprises eleven lines of chaste Arabic inscribed in *Naskh* characters of an equally good order. It purports that the excavation of the step-well started in 1534 A.D. during the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh and completed in 1539 A.D. during the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh III by Shaikhā, son of 'Īsā, entitled Munjāl. The text constitutes in a way a deed of endowment, for Munjāl not only constructed the step-well for the use of the public and travellers but also endowed for their use the buildings and fruit-bearing trees nearby which were presumably, like the well, inside a garden enclosure.

The epigraph is important in that it records the full titles of Bahādur Shāh which are the same as quoted in his coins.[2] His inscriptions so far published did not quote his titles. Among the historians, Ḥājjī Dabīr calls him Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ghāzī Ṣamṣāmu'd-Dīn, which is thus proved incorrect beyond any doubt. About Shaikhā, entitled Munjāl, nothing is known from other sources. Munjāl does not seem to have been the title of this individual only but a sort of family name. For, in the above cemetery near the step-well, there are at least two inscribed graves which contain the remains of Miyān Hāshim, son of the builder and of Shaikh Jīu, son of Shaikhā, son of Mānjī'ū, both of whom are mentioned with the sobriquet Munjāl.[3]

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) قد ابتدی حفر هذ البير المعذوب ماؤه عذبا زلالا و وقف به لاستنفاع

(۳) الخلق و لمن جاء به وقفاً حلالاً مع عماراته المعمورة و اشجارة المغروسة المثمرة ابتغاء

(۴) لوجه الله المعظم و رجاء لشفاعت رسول الله صلع المكرم فی عصر السلطان المشرف

(۵) بتشریف الرحمن قطب الدنیا و الدین ابو الفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه

(٦) سنه ۹۴۰ فی شعبان و اتمها فی عهد سلطان سلاطین الزمان الواثق

(۷) بتائید الرحمن ناصر الدنیا و الدین ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن

(۸) لطیف شاه اخی بها[در شاه] ابن مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ابن

(۹) محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه

(۱۰) السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه شیخا بن عیسی الملقب

(۱۱) بمو نجال جعل الله له هذه الخیر مقبولة جاریة و سقاه من حوض الکوثر شربه صافیه
سنه ۹۴٦

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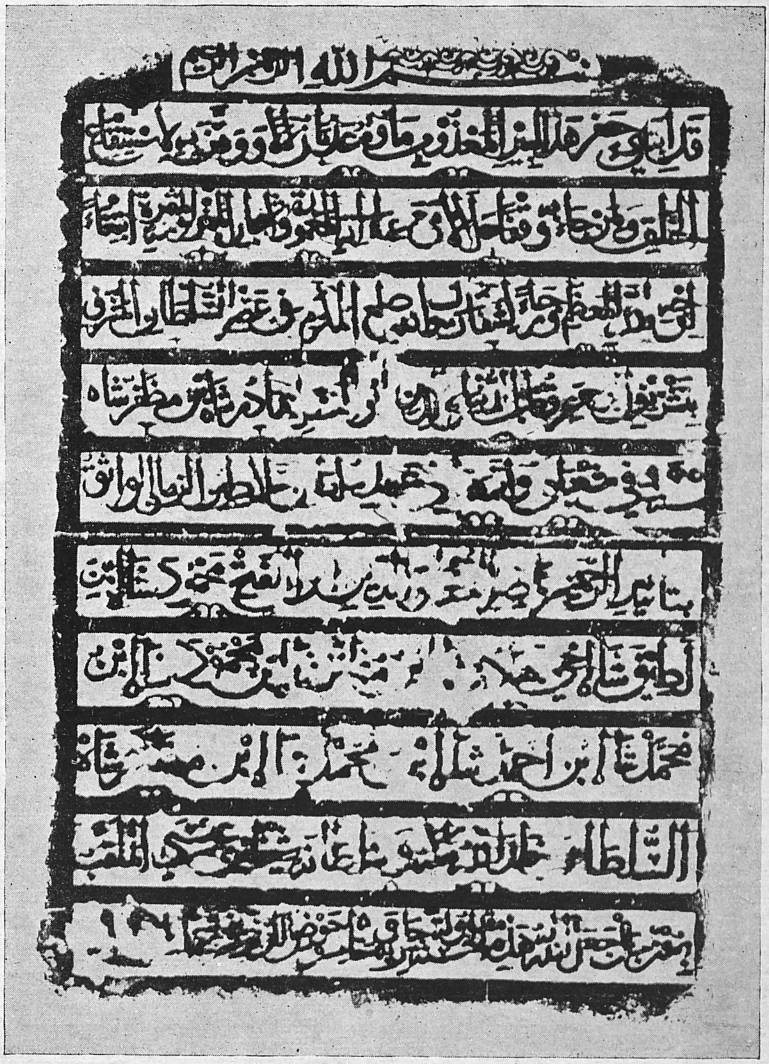
[1] *ARIE*, 1957-58, No. B, 141.

[2] His coins have the legend Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl. For references, see *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 70 and f.n.3.

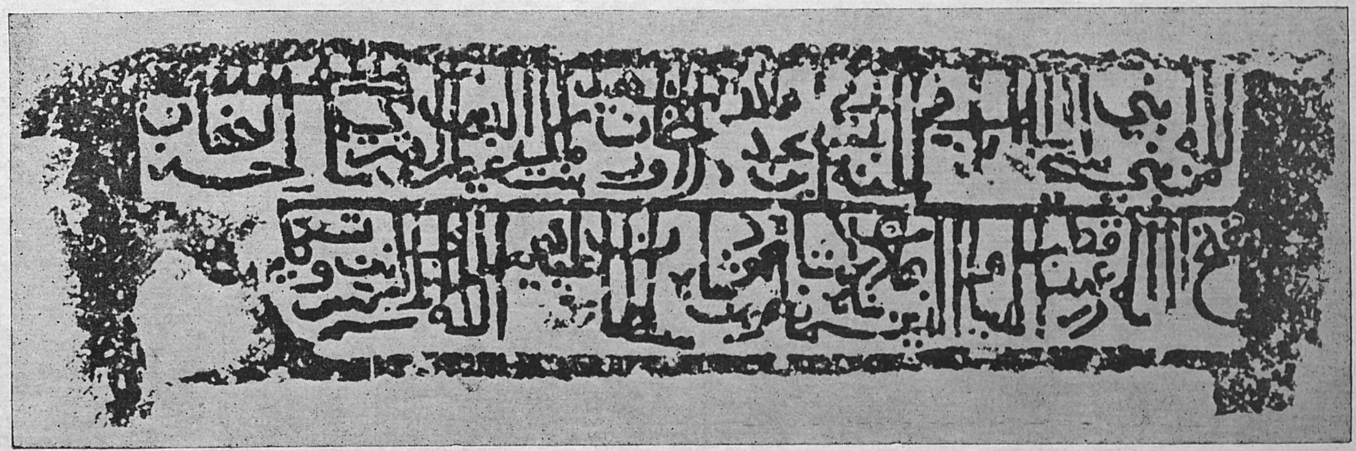
[3] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 13-14. The name Munjāl as borne by the celebrated minister of the famous Chaulukya king of Gujarat Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. Also, the name of one Vohrā Munjāl of Modh race occurs in an inscription dated 1282 A.D. from Wadhwan (*IHQ*, vol. IV, p. 766, f.n.3.).

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh III, dated A.H. 946, from Ahmedabad (p. 48)



SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Inscription of Bahādur Shāh, dated A.H. 936, from Bhamer (p. 47)



SCALE : ·21

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Commenced the digging of this well whose water is sweet with pure sweetness, and it was endowed for the benefit

(3) of the public and of those who come there, by way of lawful trust, along with its prospering buildings and planted fruit-bearing trees, with a view to obtain

(4) the Face of the Magnificent Lord and hoping for the intercession of His noble Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him, in the reign of the sulṭān who is favoured

(5) with the robe of honour of the Beneficent, Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,

(6) in Sha'bān of the year (A.H.) 940 (February-March 1534 A.D.), and it was finished in the reign of the king of the kings of the time, the reliant

(7) on the help of the Beneficent, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of

(8) Laṭīf Shāh, brother of Bahā[dur Shāh], son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of

(9) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh,

(10) the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by Shaikhā, son of 'Īsā, entitled

(11) Munjāl, may Allāh make for him this bounty acceptable and ever-running, and give him pure drink from the reservoir of *Kauthar*. (In the year A.H.) 946 (1539 A.D.).[1]

XXXI. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CAMBAY

I found the loose fragmentary slab containing this inscription in 1959 in a small mosque near the Lāl-Maḥal at Cambay.[2] The slab being fragmentary, a considerable portion of the text is lost. The surviving two lines only contain the usual genealogy of the king Maḥmūd Shāh III. It is therefore difficult to determine the purport of the record nor does the lack of information about the original findspot of the tablet help us in the matter. The tablet in its present state measures 40 by 15. cm., and the style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type.

The surviving text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(١) و كان ذلكك فى عهد السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو [الفتح]

(٢) محمود شاه [بن] لطيف شاه اخ بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه

بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

[1] The Sanskrit version referred to above bears the date equivalent to 12th October 1539 A.D.

[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 103.

TRANSLATION

(1) And this took place in the reign of the great king Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū[-l Fatḥ] Maḥmūd Shāh, [son of] Laṭīf Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh, the sulṭān....

XXXII. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The fragmentary slab bearing this record is to be found in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath.[1] Whatever little writing has survived is also badly damaged with the result that it is difficult to establish the purport of the record except that it refers to the construction of a mosque. Palaeographically it can be safely assigned to the sultanate period, and though there is no absolute proof, it seems to have been set up in the reign of one of the early sultans, and is therefore included in the present study. The style of writing is *Naskh*, and the language Arabic and Persian. The tablet measures 37 by 26 cm.

The surviving text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (*c*)

(*a*) *Vertical writing on the right side.*[2]

(۱) لا اله الا[الله] محمد رسول الله

(۲) تبارک و تعالے ....

(۳) ....

(*b*) *Horizontal writing.*

(۱) بفرمان ؟........................

(۲) قال ال[نبی]......................

(۳) این مسجد بنا کرد...........

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) First Creed.

(2) Blessed and Exalted.........

(3) ....

(*b*) (1) At the orders of ?..........

(2) The Prophet says..........

(3) This mosque was constructed..........

---

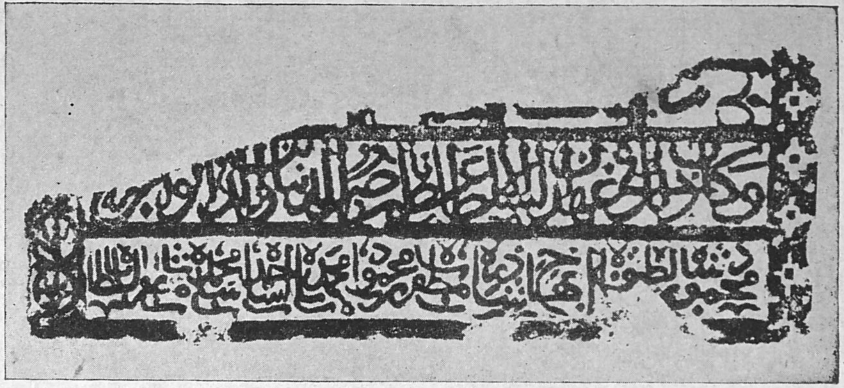
[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 166.

[2] The reading of this portion is tentative.

(*a*) Inscription of Muẓaffar S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 921, from Sankheda (p. 44)

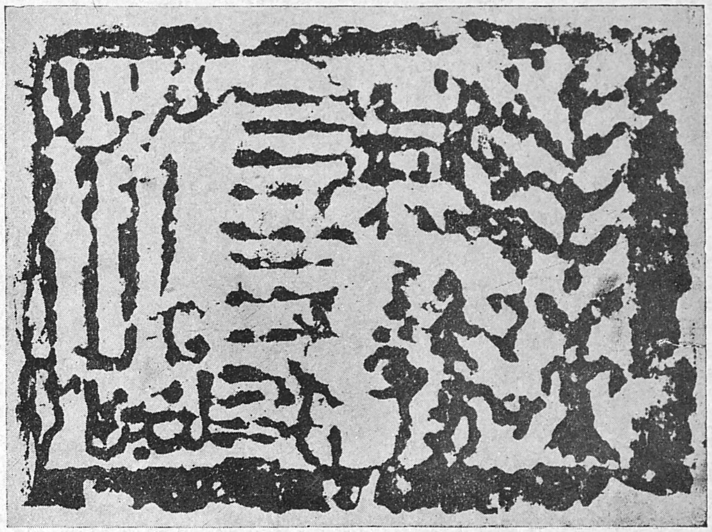
SCALE : ·25

(*b*) Inscription of Maḥmūd S͟hāh III, from Cambay (p. 49)



SCALE : ·25

(*c*) Fragmentary inscription from Somnath (p. 50)



SCALE : ·24

SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

By S. A. Rahim

The Vidarbha or Berar region comprises, strictly speaking, of four districts of Akola, Buldana, Amraoti and Yeotmal which are now included in Maharashtra. Of the twelve inscriptions included in this article, five are from Karanja, two each from Mangrulpir and Balapur and one each from Patur, Akot and Lakhanwada.

The earliest of these records is to be seen at Mangrulpir, headquarters of the *tāluka* of the same name in Akola district. The town of Mangrul lying between 24°4′ and 20°80′ N. and 77°9′ and 77°42′ E. is suffixed by the epithet Pīr, referring to the saint Ḥayāt Qalandar or other saints who lie buried there,[1] to distinguish it from other places of the same name. The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 75 by 18 cm. fixed on the entrance of the tomb of Shāh Amānu'llāh[2] which is situated in the same enclosure along with that of his disciple Shāh Aman Ṣāḥib. Of the two tombs, that of the former is a monument of architectural merit. According to Brown, the disciple is contemporary with the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān,[3] which is in conformity with the evidence of the inscription making the spiritual guide Shāh Amānu'llāh a contemporary of Akbar.

The text of the record consists of four verses in Persian inscribed horizontally side by side; in addition a line is written on the left side from bottom to top. There seems to be nothing wrong with the composition of the record. On the contrary, from whatever has been possible to read, the quality of verse appears to be fairly good. But unfortunately, the stone-carver or the designer has made a mess of the whole text. A cursory glance at the plate is sufficient to illustrate the crude execution of the letters. It is only this crudeness of the style of writing, which was evidently intended to be *Nasta'līq*, that is responsible for the fact that despite several attempts the record could not be satisfactorily deciphered. But from the portion it has been possible to read, it appears that the construction of the tomb of the saint Shāh Amānu'llāh was ordered by Shāh Murād, son of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad. This Shāh Murād is none other than Prince Murād, son of emperor Akbar, who was stationed in Berar during the last years of his life, and who ultimately breathed his last at Jālnāpūr in Berar on the 15th of Sha'bān 1007 A. H. The record is thus important for showing that the saint was a contemporary of Akbar and that he must have been held in veneration by the Prince.

The date given in the last hemistich appears to be A. H. 1006 in words but the figures at two places indicate A. H. 1007.[4] It is possible that the work was started in A. H. 1006 when the text was composed but the tablet was put up in A. H. 1007 only. This would mean, as it appears very likely, that the date and month quoted in the left side portion of the slab also formed part of the text when it was composed. In that case, Monday, the 25th Jumādā II relates to the year A. H. 1006. This is corroborated by the fact that 25th Jumādā II A. H. 1006 corresponding to 23rd January 1598 A. D. was Monday, while 25th Jumādā II A. H. 1007 corresponding to 13th January 1599 A. D. fell on Saturday. The name of the writer is not legible.

---

1 C. Brown, *Central Provinces and Berar District Gazetteers, Akola District*, Vol. A (Calcutta, 1910), p. 354.

2 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1960-61, No. D, 200. The inscription has been referred to in Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 356, but its purport is not given.

3 *Ibid.*

4 It is written as ٩٥٥٧ or ٩٠٠٧ which obviously stands for 1007. For a date quoted in a like way, see *Epigraphia Indo-Muslemica* (*EIM*), 1935-36, p. 57, pl. XXXVII.

The readable portion of the text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XV (*c*)

(١) آنکک از جمله دلها دل او آ گاهست   قطب الاقطاب جهان شاه امان الله است

عجایب مظهر علیا ست پشت کاخ دیوارش   (٢) بسان کعبه آمد مزار ؟......رخسارش ؟

چنان عالیست از تعظیم بنیاد بنای او   ز رفعت سرهمی ساید...... چرخ دوارش

(٣) بحکم شه مراد ابن جلال الدین محمد شد   بسال الف شش ؟ آراست آنراسبز معمارش

٩٠٠٧   سنه ٩٠٠٧

On the left side.

بتاریخ بست پنجم شهر جمید الثانی دو شنبه کتبه......

TRANSLATION

(1) He whose heart from among all the hearts is awake with (Divine) knowledge is the pole-star of the pole-stars of the world, Shāh Amānu'llāh.

A wonderful manifestation in the extreme .... its walls.

(2) Like *Ka'ba* has come the tomb ? ....its face.

Its edifice, through respect, is so high that on account of its height, the revolving heaven touches its head at its (feet ?).

(3) It was constructed by the order of Shāh Murād, son of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (Akbar). In the year One hundred and six ? the mason decorated it in green ? Year 1007.

On the left side.

.... On the twentyfifth of the month of Jamīd II, Monday. Written by ....

The second inscription of this group noticed for the first time belongs to Karanja town situated in 22°29′ N. and 77°32′ E. in the Murtazapur *tāluka* of the Akola district.[1] The report that the town was once known as Karanja Bībī is also corroborated by the present record. The reason for this nomenclature is reported to be that the town was part of the dowry given to Daulat Shāh Begam, daughter of Daryā 'Imād Shāh of Berār when she was married to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar.[2] Her tomb is said to have existed in a delapidated condition at the turn of the present century. The town contains in all eight inscriptions of which four are included in this article. These were copied by me in 1960.

The slab bearing the epigraph measures 60 by 21 cm. and is fixed on the facade of the Āstāna-Masjid. It records the construction, evidently of the mosque, in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb or 1659 A. D., by one whose name appears to read as Pīran. The date is contained in figures and the regnal year in words. Unfortunately, the *Nasta'līq* script employed by the scribe, though better than the one used in the previous epigraph, is not upto the mark.

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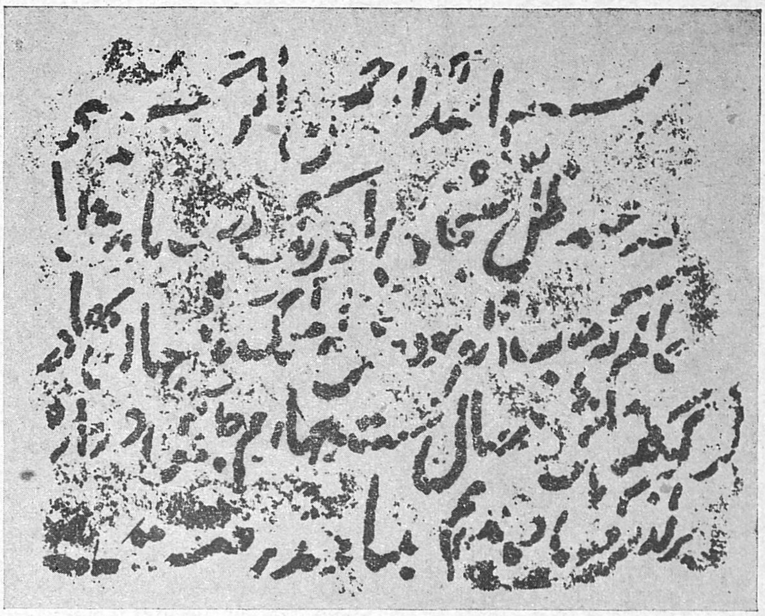
[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 203.

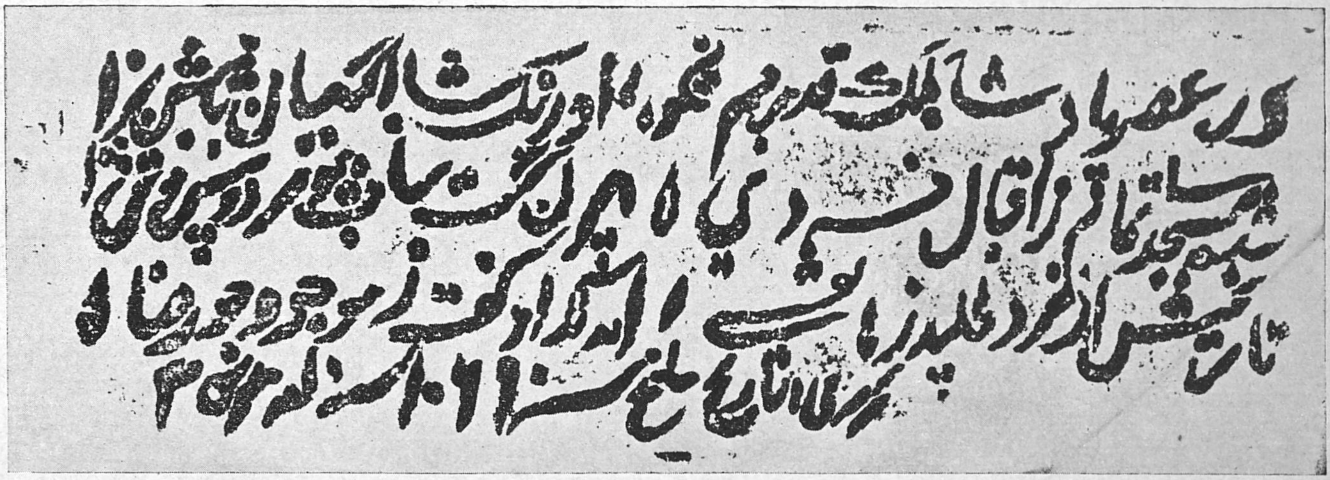
[2] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1865), p. 124. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VI (Oxford, 1908), p. 178, also gives the same version but Brown, *op. cit.*, makes her a daughter of the king of Ahmadnagar.

(*a*) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1091, from Lakhanwada (p. 55)



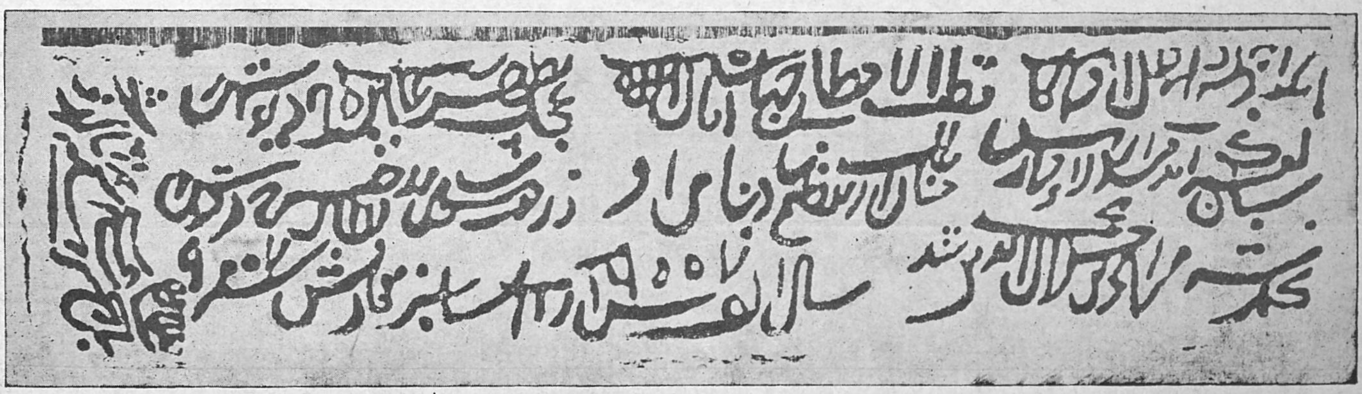
SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1069, from Karanja (p. 53)



SCALE : ·26

(*c*) Inscription of Akbar, dated A.H. 1007, from Mangrulpir (p. 52)



SCALE : ·23

The text of the record comprising three lines of Persian verse and one in prose reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(۱) در عصر پادشاه ملک قدر جم شکوه   اورنگ شاه آنکه جهانبانیش سزا

(۲) شد مسجدے تمام ز اقبال خسروی   پیرن بخشت ساخت چو فردوس خوش فزا

(۳) تاریخش از خرد طلبید[م][1] ز هاتفے   آمد ندا و گفت ز ''موجود جورضا''

(۴) تحریر فی التاریخ سلخ سنه ۱۰۶۹ سنه احد من جلوس

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the king of angel-like stature and Jam-like dignity Aurang Shāh (Aurangzeb), whom kingship fully befits,

(2) a mosque was completed through the good fortune of the king ; Pīran constructed this paradise-like pleasant edifice with brick.

(3) I asked Wisdom about its date. From the invisible angel, the voice came to say, '*Seek the pleasure from the Ever Living* (*Allāh*).'

(4) Written on the last day of the year A. H. 1069, the first regnal year (29th Dhi'l-Ḥijja A. H. 1069=7th September 1659 A. D.).

I am not satisfied with the reading of the name of the builder. An alternative reading is Bīzan but I prefer Pīran.

The third inscription is copied from the Jāmi' mosque at Akot lying between 20°55′ and 26°15′N. and 76°47′ and 77°15′ E. in the *tāluka* of the same name in Akola district.[2] The inscription is fixed above the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque and comprises six lines in Persian verse written in beautiful *Nasta'līq* characters in relief. The tablet measures 76 by 43 cm., and the lettering has been subjected to damage as will be seen from the illustration. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to Muḥammad Ashraf on the site of a temple demolished by him in A. H. 1078 (1667-68 A. D.) during Aurangzeb's reign. The date is provided by a chronogram, while between the last two lines it is also incised in words, perhaps at a subsequent date, in an inelegant hand.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله حقاً حقاً

(۲) در زمان عدل عالمگیر شاه دین پناه   آنکه نزد جود عامش بحروکان باشد خجل

---

[1] The letter 'م' seems to have been omitted by the sculptor.

[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 56. For particulars about the town, see Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-305. R. B. Hiralal, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 138, has given a brief purport of this record, while H. Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the C. P. and Berar* (Calcutta, 1897), p. 71, merely refers to it.

(۳) از مریدانش محمد اشرف پاک اعتقاد موضع[1] را دید کان بتخانه بودی متصل

(۴) چون خلیل از امر حق بشکست آن بتخانه را داد ترتیب بنای مسجد[ی] بس مستقل

(۵) سنه هزار و هفتاد و هشت

(۶) گشت تاریخ این بنای عاقبت محمود را کعبه حاجت روا و معبد ارباب دل

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god except Allāh. Muḥammad is His Prophet, verily, verily.

(2) In the just reign of 'Ālamgīr, the king who is the asylum of Faith (and) whose universal generosity makes the sea and mine shame-striken,

(3) one of his devoted servants, Muḥammad A͟shraf of good faith, saw a place where there was a temple.

(4) Like K͟halil (Prophet Abraham), he broke the temple at the command of God, and arranged for the construction of a very steadfast mosque.

(5) Year (A. H.) one thousand and seventy-eight (A. H. 1078=1667 A. D.).

(6) The date of this edifice of happy end was obtained in the words: (*it is*) *the desire-giving Ka'ba and place of worship for men of hearts.*

Muḥammad A͟shraf who is clearly mentioned in the text as a devoted official of the emperor is untraceable in historical records at my disposal.

The fourth inscription belongs to Ghāṭ-Darwāza situated on the top of the hill at a distance of about 2 miles to the south of the village Lakhanwada in the Khamgaon *tāluka* of Buldana district.[2] The epigraph was listed by Cousens who merely described it as containing 'five lines of inscription in Persian'.[3] That is not surprising because due to constant exposure to elements of nature, the slab has become quite weather-beaten, and the letters have partly abraded.

The inscriptional tablet is fixed over the gate. The record which runs into five lines of Persian prose is quite interesting. It states that the construction of the gate on the hill-pass of Dhadham took place in the 24th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1680-81 A. D.) by the orders of the famous Mu͟ghal governor of Deccan, K͟hān-i-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltā͟sh, a foster-brother of the emperor. K͟hān-i-Jahān Kokaltā͟sh is too well-known to require any detailed mention here.[4] His first term as governor of Deccan was from the 16th to 20th regnal year of the emperor. It was probably towards the close of the 20th regnal year that he was dismissed from service but was reinstated shortly, though he was not given charge of Deccan until the 23rd regnal year.[5] It is possible that K͟hān-i-Jahān had ordered the construction of the gate on the mountain pass during one of his marches in the region. It may be interesting to note that K͟hān Jahān is mentioned in the text with the title Tāju'l-Mulk. The text also calls the hill as Dhadham, which is evidently the Dhaddam of the maps.[6]

---

[1] This should be "موضعے".

[2] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 214. The hill belongs to the Ajanta range.

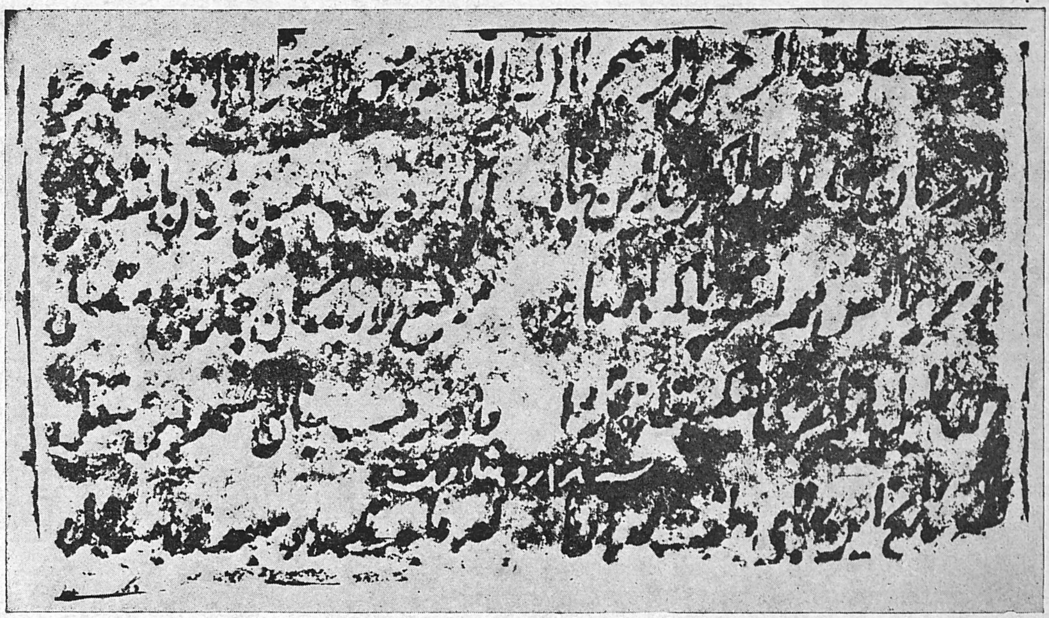
[3] Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[4] For an account of his career, see S͟hāh Nawāz K͟hān, *Ma'āt͟hiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1894), pp. 798-813.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 801-02.

[6] There does exist a village Dadham at a distance of about two or three furlongs from the hill.

(*a*) Incription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1078, from Akot (p. 53)

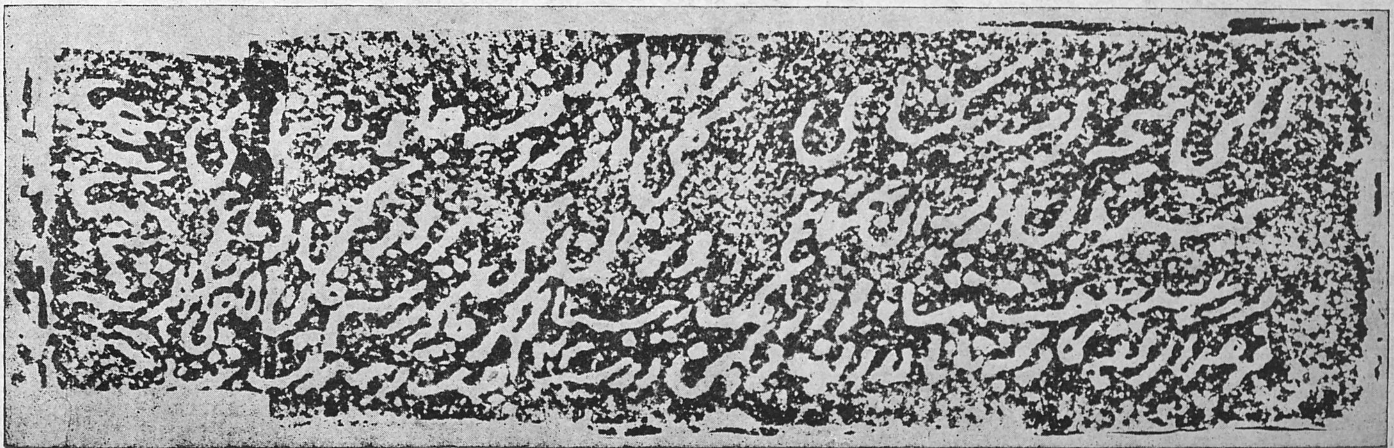


SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 1109, from Karanja (p. 55)

SCALE : ·18

(*c*) A third inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 1110, same place (p. 56)



SCALE : ·23

The epigraph is inscribed in *Nasta'līq* of a fairly high order. The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) در عهد ظل سبحانی اورنگ زیب بادشاه

(۳) عالم گیر حسب الفرموده تاج الملک خان جهان بهادر

(۴) کوکلتاش در سال بیست و چهارم جلوس دروازه

(۵) بر گذر کو هی دهدهم بنیاد پذیرفت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the shadow of the Glorious Lord, Aurangzeb Bād<u>sh</u>āh

(3) 'Ālamgīr, by the order of Tāju'l-Mulk <u>Kh</u>ān-i-Jahān Bahādur

(4) Kokaltā<u>sh</u>, in the 24th regnal year (A. H. 1091-92=1680-81 A. D.), (this) gate

(5) on the pass of the hill Dhadham was constructed.

The next inscription of the study again comes from Karanja. Its tablet measuring 1·2 m. by 22 cm. is fixed on the right side of the Dārwa gate of the city-wall.[1] Comprising three lines of writing in Persian, it places the construction of Māhūr gate in the 42nd regnal year (1698-99 A. D.) of Aurangzeb when the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī was included in the fief of Rustam <u>Kh</u>ān and the *faujdār* of the place was Qāḍī Ba<u>sh</u>īru'llāh.

It is difficult to say if Rustam <u>Kh</u>ān whose name occurs as the *jāgīrdār* of Kāranja in our record is identical with Sayyid Rustam <u>Kh</u>ān who was appointed his deputy in Berar by Fīrūz Jang in about the 33rd regnal year of the emperor ; he is stated to have held Bālāpur and other places in his fief.[2] The epigraph is also important in that it provides the name of the *faujdār*, viz. Qāḍī Ba<u>sh</u>īru'llāh, but no further particulars about him are forthcoming. It is also to be noted that the gate is designated in the text as 'Māhūr gate'.

The script employed in the epigraph which, it will be noticed, is incised on the stone and not carved in relief, is *Nasta'līq* of a fairly good order. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) ایزد سبحان شاه اورنگ زیب رستم خان جاگیردار قصبه کارنجه بے بے

(۳) سنه چهل دو جلوس والا عمل قاضی بشیر الله فوجدار دروازه ماهور مرتب یافت بالخیر

[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 204.

[2] <u>Sh</u>āh Nawāz <u>Kh</u>ān, *op. cit.*, pp. 502-04.

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) The Glorified God. (In the reign of) Shāh Aurangzeb (and during the time of) Rustam Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī

(3) (in) the year fortytwo of the auspicious accession (A. H. 1109-10=1698-99 A. D) (during) the time of Qāḍī Bashīru'llāh, the *faujdār*, the Māhūr gate was completed. (May it end) with safety!

The sixth inscription, fixed on the right side of Māngrul gate of the same town,[1] comprises five lines in Persian incised in ordinary *Nasta'līq* on a rectangular slab measuring 77 by 23 cm. The text opens with an attribute of God followed by the first two verses from Jāmī's famous *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*. The remaining two lines in prose place the construction of the Dakhan gate in the 43rd year (A. H. 1110-11=1699-1700 A. D.) of Aurangzeb's reign. Other particulars given in the inscription are same as in the previous inscription except that it further records the name of the writer as Shyāmjī Bābū Rāi.

The text is read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (*c*)

(۱) هو القادر

(۲) الهی غنچه امید بکشای گلی از روضه جاوید بنمای

(۳) بخندان ازلب آن غنچه باغم وزان گل [عطر] پرورکن دماغم

(۴) در عهد سلطنت شاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر جاگیر رستم خان قاضی بشیر الله

(۵) فوجدار قصبه کارنجه بے بے دروازه دکهن در سنه ۴۳ چهل و سه مرتب شد

On the left side.

راقم شیامجی بابورای

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Powerful.

(2) O God! Open the bud of desire and show a rose from the eternal garden!

(3) From the lip of that bud, make my garden full of smile, and with that rose make my mind scented!

(4) In the period of the reign of Shāh Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr and (when) the *jāgīr* was held by Rustam Khān, (in the time of) Qāḍī Bashīru'llāh,

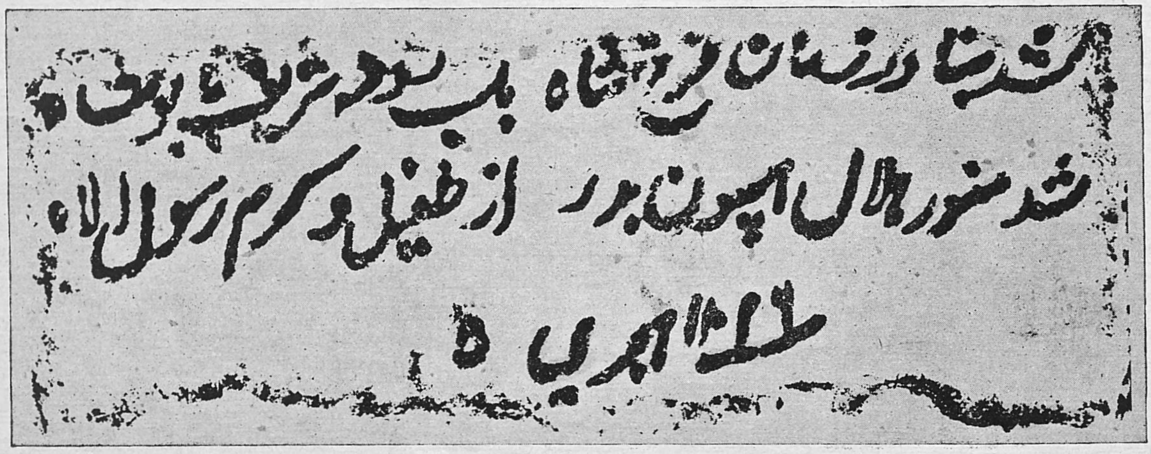
(5) the *faujdār* of the *qaṣba* of Kāranja-Bībī, the Dakhan gate was constructed in the (regnal) year 43, fortythree (A. H. 1110-11=1699-1700 A.D.).

[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 208.

(*a*) Inscription of Muḥammad S͟hāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)

SCALE : ·09

(*b*) Inscription of Farruk͟h Siyar, dated A.H. 1126, from Patur (p. 57)



SCALE : ·18

(*c*) Inscription of Muḥammad S͟hāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)

SCALE : ·18

On the left side.

The writer (of the lines is) Shyāmjī Bābū Rāi.

The seventh inscription belongs to Patur situated in 20°27′ N. and 76°59′ E. in the Balapur *tāluka* of the Akola District.[1] Noticed here for the first time, it is inscribed on the third gate of the *dargāh* of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz commonly known as Shāh Bābū or Shaikh Bābū after whose name the village is called Pātūr Shaikh Bābū. Tradition asserts that the saint arrived at Patur during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh who also paid a visit to him on his way to Daulatabad. He was a disciple of Naṣīru’d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and died in A. H. 791.[2]

The present epigraph is dated A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.) in the reign of the Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar. It records the construction of the gate of the *dargāh*. It is difficult to name the builder since the text, an example of mediocre versification is vague on the point. The inscriptional slab measures 77 by 27 cm.

The text comprising two couplets in Persian is inscribed in ordinary *Nasta‘līq* characters in relief and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

(۱) شد بنا در زمان فرخ شاه   باب روضه شریف بابوشاه

(۲) شد منور هلال همچون بدر   از طفیل و کرم رسول الله

(۳) سنه ۱۱۲۶ هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) The gate of the noble tomb of Bābū Shāh was built in the time of Farrukh Shāh.

(2) By the grace and help of the Prophet of Allāh (i. e. Muḥammad), the crescent (*Hilāl*) became resplendent (*Munawwar*) like full-moon (*Badr*).

(3) Year A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.).

The slab containing the next inscription is built up into the facade of the mosque situated on the eastern bank of the river at Balapur in Akola district.[3] The town was a place of importance in the time of the ‘Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar and in the reign of Akbar and later Mughal emperors.[4]

The text of the epigraph comprises three couplets in Persian inscribed vertically in two lines in relief in pleasant and beautiful *Nasta‘līq*. Dated A.H. 1130 (1717-18 A.D.), the record assigns the construction of a mosque to Amīn Qulī Khān in the reign of Farrukh Siyar at the time when Muḥammad Amīn Khān held the fief. The *jāgīrdār* Muḥammad Amīn Khān as well as the builder Amīn Qulī Khān are not mentioned in historical works, but the former is spoken of in the text as a learned and accomplished nobleman, ‘ a man of sword and pen ’.

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[1] *ARIE*, No. D, 196.

[2] ‘Abdu’l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūrī, *Tadhkira-i-Auliyā-i-Dakan*, vol. I (Hyderabad), pp. 527-30. A biography of the saint in Urdu, entitled *Sawāniḥ-i-‘Umrī*, by Raḥmatullāh Khān was published in 1933 A. D.

[3] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 194.

[4] For particulars about the town, see Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-14.

The inscriptional tablet measures 77 by 25 cm., and the text reads as follows: —

TEXT

Plate XVIII (*b*)

(۱) یا وهاب

(۲-۳) بعهد فرخ سیر شهی عادل
که خاکبوس جنابش عروج کیوانست
بدور صاحب جاگیر اهل سیف و قلم
امیر عالم و فاضل محمد امین خان است
دلا ز روی کرم در هزار و یکصد و سی
بگو که بانی مسجد امین قلی خان است
۱۱۳۰ ۱۱۳۰

TRANSLATION

(1) 0 Bestower !

(2-3) (This mosque was built) in the auspicious reign of Farru<u>kh</u> Siyar, the just king, kissing the dust of whose threshold is the highest honour for Saturn,

(and) in the time of the holder of the fief (*jāgīr*), the master of sword and pen, learned and accomplished nobleman, who is Muḥammad Amīn <u>Kh</u>ān.

Oh heart! By way of kindness—(and it was) in one thousand one hundred and thirty—say that the builder of the mosque is Amīn Qulī <u>Kh</u>ān. (Year A.H.) 1130, 1130 (1717-18 A.D.).

The ninth record is inscribed on the left side of the Delhi gate at Karanja.[1] There is another inscription on the right side of the gate, the text of which is identical except that it does not contain the date (pl. *XVII* (*a*)).[2] The text contains two Persian couplets assigning the reconstruction of the gate to the efforts of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid in A.H. 1139 (1726-27 A.D.) in the reign of Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh. The figure 9 at the end of the text evidently represents the regnal year. No particulars are available in records at my disposal about the career of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid. But he must be identical with <u>Sh</u>ai<u>kh</u> 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu'lāh, the *faujdār*, who constructed some edifice seven years later in the tomb of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalandar at Mangrulpir which is situated at a distance of 18 miles from Karanja (p. 59). In other words, 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid may have been associated with Karanja in the same official capacity in A.H. 1139.

The text is incised in *Nasta'līq* characters of a fairly good type on a slab measuring 95 by 24 cm. and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (*c*)

(۱) بعهد والی عالی محمد شاه دین پرور   ز عبد الواحد ساعی بنای باب شد تازه
۹
(۲) چو تاریخ تمام او ز عقل خویشتن جستم   بگوش جان ندا آمد زهی بافیض دروازه
۱۱۳۹

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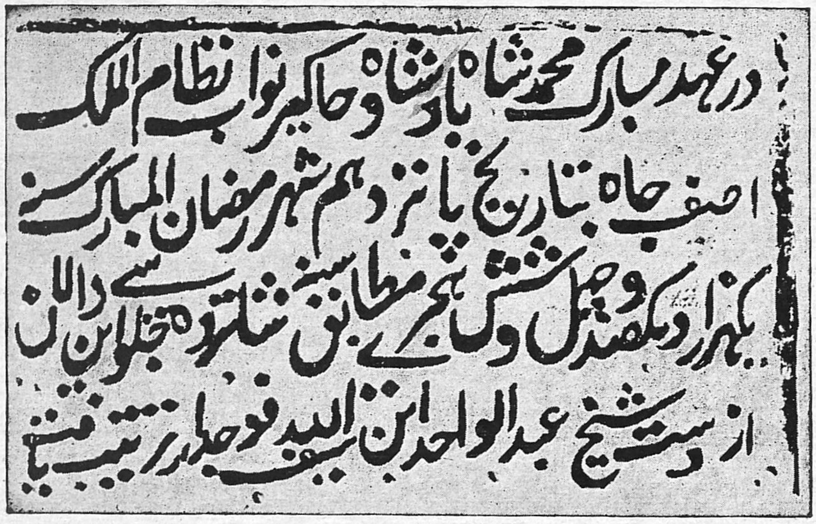
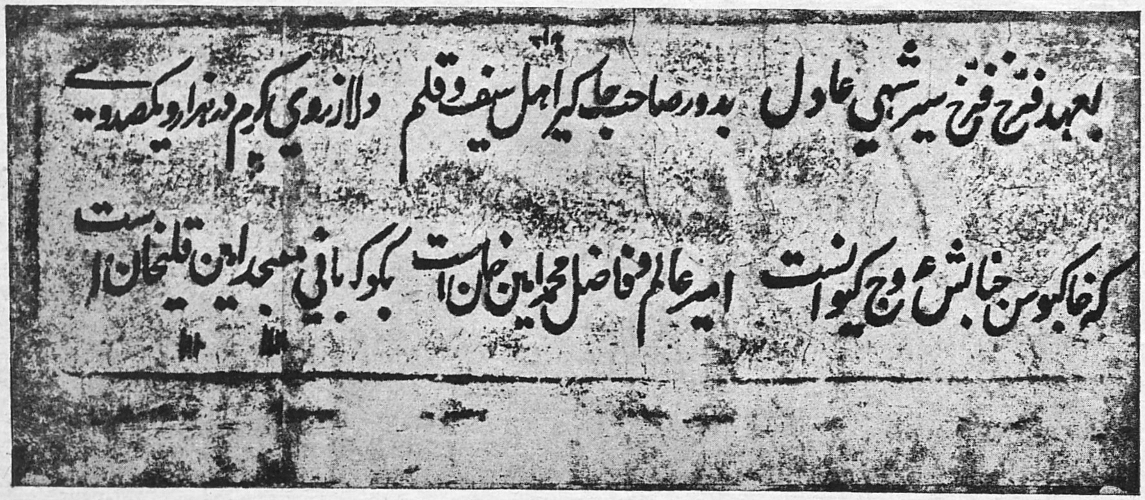
[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 206.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. D, 207.

(*a*) Inscription of Muhammhad Shāh, dated A.H. 1166, from Mangrulpir (p. 59)



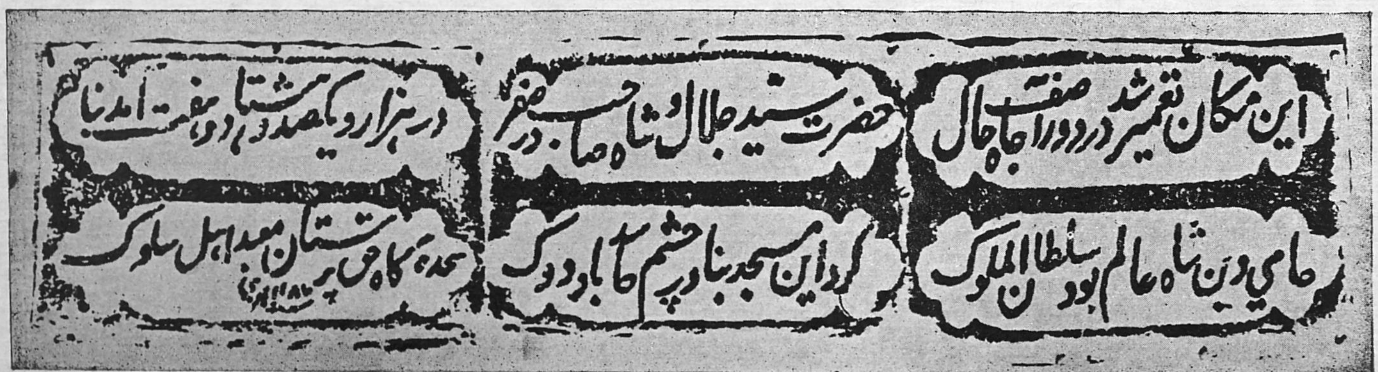
SCALE : ·13

(*b*) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1130, from Balapur (p. 58)



SCALE : ·24

(*c*) Inscription of Shāh 'Ālam II, dated A.H. 1187, from Balapur (p. 60)



SCALE : ·14

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, Muḥammad S͟hāh, the supporter of the Faith, the gate was constructed afresh through the efforts of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid.

(2) When I sought the date of its completion from my Intellect, a voice came into the ear of my soul (saying), 'What an excellent gate endowed with favour!' (Regnal year) 9, (A.H.) 1139 (1726-27 A.D.).

The tenth inscription of the group is engraved on a stone fixed into the northern wall of the verandah of the *dargāh* of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalāndar at Mangrulpir.[1] The inscription is briefly noticed by Cousens, while Hiralal giving some more but not full particulars describes the construction of an *'Īdgāh* as its purport.[2] The epigraph contains four lines inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'līq* characters. The language is Persian. It records the building of the *dālān* (verandah) in the 15th year of the reign of *MAḤAMMAD* S͟hāh in A.H. 1146 (1733-34 A.D.), when the place was included in the fief of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. It names S͟haik͟h 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu'llāh, the *faujdār*, as the builder. Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the celebrated founder of the Āṣaf Jāhi dynasty of Hyderabad, needs no description.[3] Reference has already been made to the builder in the preceding lines.

The text covers a space of 78 by 46 cm. on the stone and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(۱) در عهد مبارک محمد شاه بادشاه و جاگیر نواب نظام الملک

(۲) آصف جاه بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه

(۳) یکهزار و یکصد و چهل و شش هجری مطابق سنه شانزده جلوسے این دالان

(۴) از دست شیخ عبد الواحد ابن سیف الله فوجدار ترتیب یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh Bāds͟hāh (and in) the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Niẓāmu'l-Mulk

(2) Āṣaf Jāh, on the fifteenth of the month of the blessed Ramaḍān of the year

(3) one thousand one hundred and fortysix from the Migration corresponding to the sixteenth year of accession (15th Ramaḍān A.H. 1146=1733-34 A.D.), this *dālān*

(4) was constructed by S͟haik͟h 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu'llāh, the *faujdār*.

The last inscription is to be seen on the facade above the arches in the Bāds͟hāhpūre-kī-Masjid at Balapur.[4] Noticed here for the first time, it records the construction of the mosque in A.H. 1187 (1773 A.D.) during the reign of S͟hāh 'Ālam II and in the time of Āṣaf Jāh II,[5] by Ḥaḍrat

[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 199. For particulars about the life and tomb of the saint, see 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-82; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-55; and Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[2] Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[3] S͟hāh Nawāz K͟hān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 837-848.

[4] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 190.

[5] For Āṣaf Jāh II, see S͟hāh Nawāz K͟hān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 868-75.

Sayyid Jalāl *alias*? S͟hāh Ṣāḥib. The name of the builder so occurs in the versified text as to indicate that Jalāl and S͟hāh Ṣāḥib are two persons, but the verb being in the singular, it is just possible that these two names are of the same person. The date of the record is given in a chronogram as well as in figures and words. The text is inscribed in fairly good *Nasta'līq* on three slabs jointly measuring 43 by 28 cm.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(*a*) *Rightslab.*

(۱) این مکان تعمیر شد در دور آصف جاه حال

(۲) حامی دین شاه عالم بود سلطان الملوک

(*b*) *Middle slab.*

(۱) حضرت سید جلال و شاه صاحب در صفر

(۲) کرد این مسجد بنا در چشم حاسد باد دوک

(*c*) *Left slab.*

(۱) در هزار و یکصد و هشتاد و هفت آمد بنا

(۲) سجده‌گاه حق پرستان معبد اهل سلوک[1]

سنه ۱۱۸۷ هجری

TRANSLATION

(*a*). (1) This building (mosque) was constructed in the time of the present Āṣaf Jāh (i.e. II),

(2) (when) the defender of the Faith, S͟hāh 'Ālam (II) was the king of the kings.

(*b*) (1) Ḥaḏrat Sayyid Jalāl and (*alias* ?) S͟hāh Ṣāḥib, in the month of Ṣafar,

(2) built this mosque. May the eye of the enemy be blinded by a spindle !

(*c*) (1) In the year (A.H.) one thousand and eightyseven was constructed

(2) a place of prostration *for the worshippers of Truth and place of worship for the men of the Path.*

(3) Year A.H. 1187 (Ṣafar A.H. 1187=April-May 1773 A.D.).

[1] This hemistich forms the chronogram.

ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

By A. A. Kadiri

My study of the eight inscriptions of the Bahmanī kings from Raichur district in Mysore State, which appeared in the last issue of this Series,[1] was prefaced with a brief recapitulation of the struggle for supremacy over the Raichur *doāb* between the Bahmanī kings and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, in which I had stated that in the final stage, the struggle was carried on by the ʻĀdil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur as successors to the Bahmanī authority in that region. It would not therefore be out of place to recount in brief the history of the *doāb* in the light of epigraphical and other evidences during the period 1530-1565 A.D.

It has been asserted that on the death of Ismāʻīl ʻĀdil Khān in 1534 A.D., Krishnadeva Rāya's successor Achyutadeva Rāya lost no time in invading the *doāb* and subdued the Bijapur territories as far north as Krishna, forcing Mallū Khān, the Bijapur king, to sue for peace.[2] But no authority has been quoted for this assertion. According to another account, some time in 1535-36 A.D., the armies of Achyutadeva and Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh I, moved towards Raichur, the former to conquer and the latter to defend the *doāb*, and Ibrāhīm apprehensive of the designs of Asad Khān, the famous ʻĀdil Shāhī general, made peace with Achyutadeva by surrendering the *doāb*.[3] According to some, the surrendered territory did not include Raichur city.[4] But the Muslim chroniclers do not mention at all these expeditions. According to them, after 1530 A.D., the invasion of the *doāb* did not take place until A.H. 950 (1543-44 A.D.) in the reign of Ibrāhīm I, when the allied forces of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I and Rām Rāya marched on to recover Sholapur and the *doāb* respectively.[5] Moreover, in 1536 A.D., the *doāb* or at least a part thereof was in ʻĀdil Shāhī possession as is indicated by a Persian inscription from Mudgal.[6] It would appear that except for, if at all, temporary vacation, the *doāb* was under the continued hold of the ʻĀdil Shāhī kings from 1530 A.D. till 1552 A.D. despite the desperate efforts of the kings of Vijayanagara to wrest it from them.[7] It was only in 1552 A.D.[8] that the allied forces of Rām Rāya and Burhān Niẓām Shāh were able to conquer the *doāb* and annex it to the Vijayanagara kingdom not to be recovered by the Bijapur king ʻAlī ʻĀdil Shāh I until the defeat of the Vijayanagara king at the battle of Raksatagadi in 1565 A.D.[9]

The sixteen ʻĀdil Shāhī inscriptions of Raichur studied below range in their dates from 1546-47 A.D. to 1673-74 A.D. One of them has been already published by Mr. E. Rehatsek without facsimile,[10] while the eye-copies of all, accompanied by a photographic illustration of only one,

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1962, pp. 53-66.

[2] K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *History of South India* (Madras, 1955), p. 275; Krishnaswami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras, 1919), pp. 137 (f.n.2), 160.

[3] Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. II, part III (Bangalore, 1930), pp. 1992-93. This would mean that Achyutarāya's reported capture of the *doāb* in 1534 A.D. must have been vacated, since he was required to conquer it in 1535-36 A.D.

[4] Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (London, 1924), p. 176.

[5] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 29; ʻAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Maʼāthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 337, 340; Dr. P. M. Joshi, 'Raichur *Doāb* in Deccan History—Reinterpretation etc.', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXVI (1958), pt. iv, p. 384.

[6] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1958-59, No. D, 125.

[7] Firishta, *op. cit.*, Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 347; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[8] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

[9] Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

[10] E. Rehatsek, 'Three Inscriptions from Raichur', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 130-31.

were published by Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad in his Urdu work.[1] These records mention five 'Ādil Shāhī kings: Nos. 1-4 represent Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, Nos. 5-6 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I and Nos. 7-14, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, while Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh are represented by one inscription each, Nos. 15 and 16 of this group. The first thing that strikes one about most of these epigraphs is their poor style both in calligraphy and composition of the text. In a few epigraphs orthographical mistakes also occur.

The first inscription is carved on a broken slab measuring 1·5 m. by 60 cm., now lying loose at the Ta'līm-Burj bastion near the Andherī-Bāolī inside the fort.[2] The right portion of the slab is missing so that the right half of the first and second lines and some words of the third line are lost. But the tablet was intact or almost so until about 1915 A.D. when Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad published its eye-copy.[3]

The record consists of three lines in Persian verse—the first two in a different metre and rhyme than the third—carved in relief in ordinary *Nasta'līq* characters and mentions the construction of the bastion through the efforts of Aḥmad Ḥājī Gūnābādī in 1546-47 A.D. during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I. The date is contained in a chronogram. In the text of the epigraph quoted below the missing words are supplied in brackets from the eye-copy of Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad. However his reading including that of the missing portion is not free from mistakes.

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(۱) [معمار قضا چو هست] در حسن عمل   بانی بنای نیلگون برج حمل

(۲) [تاریخ بناش]ں [بیـ]مثل آمده است   برج فلک دولت و اقبال ازل

(۳) [بدور خسـ]رو عادل که روز خصم ازو شب شد   بسعی احمد حاجی گونابادی مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

(1) Since the architect of destiny with beautiful workmanship has laid the foundation of the azure-coloured *Burj-i-Ḥamal* (constellation Aries),

(2) the date of its construction has turned out to be matchless: (it is) *the bastion of the sky of eternal prosperity and good fortune.*

(3) In the reign of the just king, on account of whom the day of the enemy is turned into night, (this bastion) was constructed through the efforts of Aḥmad Ḥājī Gūnābādī.

The chronogram is contained in the second hemistich of the second verse and yields on calculation the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546-47) which falls in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I. The builder Aḥmad Ḥājī of Gūnābād, obviously an official, is unknown to history.

[1] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr*, part III (Agra, 1915), pp. 325-27, 329, 332-35, 339.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 131.

[3] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

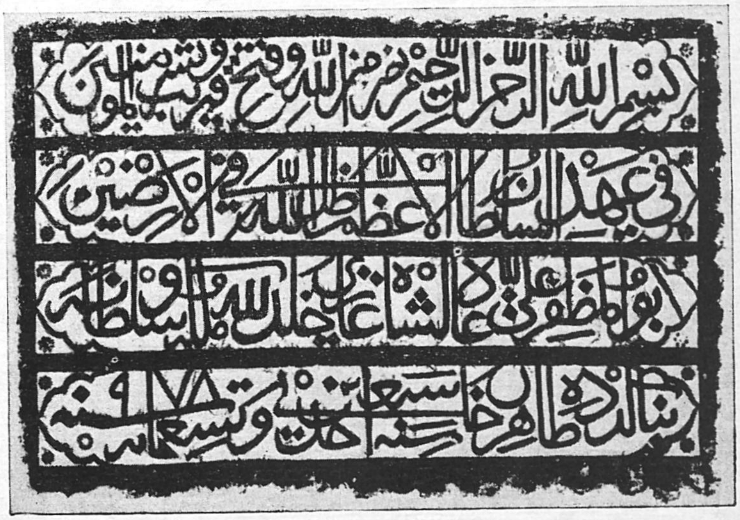
[4] Cf. *Ibid.*

PLATE XIX

(*a*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 953, from Raichur (p. 62)

SCALE : ·07

(*b*) Inscription of ʻAlī ʻĀdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 978, same place (p. 65)



SCALE : ·07

(*c*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 958, same place (p. 64)

SCALE : ·09

The second inscription of the reign of Ibrāhīm I is fixed on the facade of the bastion near the Khusraw Burj.[1] The inscriptional tablet measures 1·82 m. by 90 cm. and contains four lines of Persian poetry executed in ordinary*N asta'līq* characters in relief placing the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrahīm ' Ādil Shāh I. The date is 1548-49 A.D. according to the chronogram occurring in the last line.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX (*a*)

(۱) بستم درین حصار بتوفیق کردگار　　برجی که کوته است ازو دست اهل غدر

(۲) چون سر زند ز مطلع او طلعت هلال　　باشد ز روے مرتبه چون بر سپهر بدر

(۳) در روزگار عادل دوران تمام شد　　آن عادلی که ساخته جا بر سریر صدر

(۴) چون نسبت رفیع ز قدرش بدیع نیست　　تاریخ او ست برج رفیع بلند قدر

TRANSLATION

(1) Through the guidance of the Creator, I have built in this fort a bastion which is beyond the reach of the treacherous.

(2) Since the face of the crescent makes its appearance from its horizon (i.e. since the flag containing the emblem of the crescent flutters above the bastion), in status it is like the full-moon in the sky.

(3) It was completed in the reign of the king, ' Ādil (lit. just) of the age, the ' Ādil (Shāh) who has established his seat on the throne of chiefship.

(4) Since the relation of exaltedness is not novel in regard to its position, its date is (found in the words :) *exalted bastion of high position.*

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548-49).

The third inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, fixed on the facade of the Kāṭī gate of the fort,[2] measures 3.65 m. by 60 cm. and contains two lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. A major portion of the epigraph consists of religious text with the scant historical information that the gate was constructed by Shamshīru'l-Mulk in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I in 1550 A.D. It will be seen that two dates are mentioned in the text: one in figures occurring at the end of the first line and the other in words at the end of second. The first is evidently the Hijra year while the other is its Shuhūr equivalent.[3]

Shamshīru'l-Mulk, as his title suggests, must have been the governor of the *doāb* in the stormy days (1530-31 A.D.), when the struggle for supremacy over the *doāb* was at its height. He is also mentioned in a record from Mudgal dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.) as the official of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.[4] However, contemporary Persian works do not mention his name.

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 132; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 179. The reading of Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 333, is as usual not free from mistakes.

[3] Cf. M. Nāzim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1949), p. 98.

[4] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 125.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(۱) نصر من الله و فتح قریب و بشر المومنین لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علی ولی
الله فالله (sic.) خیرا (sic.) حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمین سنه ۹۵۷

(۲) اللهم صل علے محمد مصطفے و علی المرتضی و الحسن و الحسین و العباد و الباقر
و الصادق و الکاظم و الرضا و التقی و النقی و العسکرے و المهدے - در عهد همایون سلطان
ابراهیم عادلشاه بنا کردهٔ شمشیر الملک غره ماه رمضان سنه خمسین و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'Help is from Allāh and victory near : and deliver good news to the believers.'[1] Shiite Creed. 'And Allāh is the best keeper. And he is the most Merciful of the merciful ones.'[2] In the year (A.H.) 957.

(2) Shiite *Durūd*. In the august reign of sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (I), (this gate) was constructed by Shamshīru'l-Mulk on the 1st of the month of Ramaḍān of (the Shuhūr) year nine hundred and fifty (1st Ramaḍān A.H. 957, Shuhūr 950=13th September 1550 A.D.).

The slab containing the fourth inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I is fixed on the inner side of the gate of the lake near Andherī-Bāolī,[3] near the inscription dated A.H. 953, mentioned above. It measures 1.45 m. by 40 cm. The text consists of three Persian couplets carved in relief in *Nasta'līq* characters and records in a chronogram 1551 A.D. as the date of the construction of the gate. The name of the builder is not mentioned.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (c)

(۱) کشوده باد بشادی همیشه این درگاه بحق اشهد و ان لا اله الا له (sic.)

(۲) این عمارت بعهد عادلشاه شد مهیا بخیر و نیکویے

(۳) بهر تاریخ این بنا گویند فتح شد باب مدعا گویے

TRANSLATION

(1) May this threshold (gate) ever remain open in happiness, by the grace of (the text) 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh'.

(2) This building was completed with goodness and beauty in the reign of (Ibrāhīm) 'Ādil Shāh (I).

(3) For the date of this construction it is said, '*you may say that the door of wishes has opened*'.

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter XII, part of verse 64.

[3] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 180 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 332. His reading is correct except in two places.

(*a*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 955, from Raichur (p. 63)

Scale : ·09

(*b*) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 957 (p. 64)

Scale : ·05

The last hemistich forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).[1]

The fifth inscription is dated in the reign of ' Alī 'Ādil Shāh I. It is carved on a slab measuring 1.3 m. by 85 cm. which is fixed in the southern wall of the mosque inside the Naurang-Darwāza of the fort.[2] The record is not *in situ,* since according to Rehatsek who published its reading in 1882 A.D., it belonged to ' the bastion of the northern wall of the outer tier of fortification.'[3] But the slab was fixed in its present place some time before Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad wrote his book in 1915 A. D.[4]

The text of the epigraph consists of four lines of writing in Arabic except for a phrase in Persian. The style of writing is ordinary *Naskh*. The record mentions Ṭāhi - Khān as the builder and refers itself to the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. The object constructed is not specified in the text but in view of Rehatsek's information, it must be a bastion. The text quotes two dates : 971 in words and 978 in figures. It is apparent that the former indicates Shuhūr year of which the latter is the Hijra equivalent.[5] Thus the date of the epigraph is Shuhūr 971 or A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.).

Historical records available to me do not contain any indication regarding the identity, leave alone, career of Ṭāhir Khān, the builder of the bastion. But that he may have been an 'Ādil Shāhī official of rank is a reasonable guess.

The text[6] of the epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (*b*)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المومنين

(٢) فى عهد السلطان الاعظم ظل الله فى الارضين

(٣) ابو المظفر على عادلشاه غازى خلد [ا]لله ملكه و سلطانه

(٤) بنا كرده طاهر خان سنه احدے سبعين و تسع مايه سنه ٩٧٨

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Help is from Allāh and victory near; and deliver good news to the believers.'[7]

(2) In the reign of the magnificent king, the shadow of Allāh on the whole earth

(3) Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(4) (this bastion) was constructed by Ṭāhir Khān in the (Shuhūr) year nine-hundred and seventyone, (A.H.) year 978 (Shuhūr 971, A.H. 978=1570-71 A.D.).

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[1] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, having read " گوى " instead of " گويے " calculated the date as A.H. 948,

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 146 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

[3] Rehatsek, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[4] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

[5] Nāẓim, *op. cit.*

[6] Cf. Rehatsek, *op. cit.* and Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

[7] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.

The second epigraph belonging to the reign of ʻAlī Ādil Shāh I is fixed into the right *miḥrāb* in the west wall of the Jāmiʻ mosque inside the fort.[1] There are a few more inscriptions in the mosque which will be studied in the following lines. The arch-shaped tablet bearing this inscription measures 93 cm. by 1·5 m. and is elaborately carved with Shiite Creed and *Durūd* in panels around the border, anticlock-wise, beginning from the point of the arch, and with *Bismillāh* above the inner arch. At the bottom is inscribed the historical content of the inscription which mentions the construction of the mosque in the reign of ʻAlī ʻĀdil Shāh in 1577-78 A.D.[2] The text in the central portion comprises Quranic verses carved in relief in *Naskh* characters with *Ṯughrā* flourishes, arranged in some cases in geometrical design, thus imparting to the whole record a somewhat unusual calligraphical pattern.

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

(*a*) *Border.*

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علی ولی الله اللهم صل علی محمد المصطفی و علی المرتضی و

الحسن و الحسین و العباد و الباقر و الصادق و الکاظم و موسی الرضا و محمد التقی و علی النقی

و العسکری و المهدی

(*b*) *Central portion.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا انا انزلناه فی لیلة القدر و ما ادریک ما لیلة القدر

لیلة القدر خیر من الف شهر تنزل الملائکة و الروح فیها باذن ربهم من کل امر سلام هی حتی

مطلع الفجر کل من علیها فان و یبقی و جه ربک ذو الجلال و الاکرام

(*c*) *Bottom.*

در زمان دولت شاه عالمپناه جمجاه علی [3] عادالشاه سنه ۹۸۵

TRANSLATION

(*a*) Shiite Creed and *Durūd*.

(*b*) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘And surely, the mosques are for Allāh ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.’[4] *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVIII and chapter LV, verses 26-27.

(*c*) In the period of the reign of the king, the refuge of the world, possessing the dignity of Jam, ʻ Alī ʻĀdil Shāh (in) A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 134 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.* p. 325, with a plate.

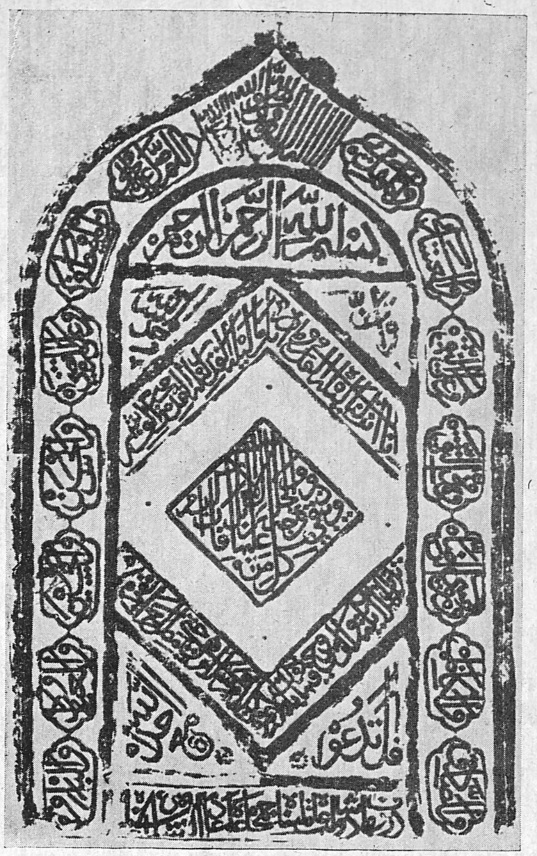
[2] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 324, is wrong to read the date as A.H. 908 instead of A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

[3] Thus on the stone.

[4] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

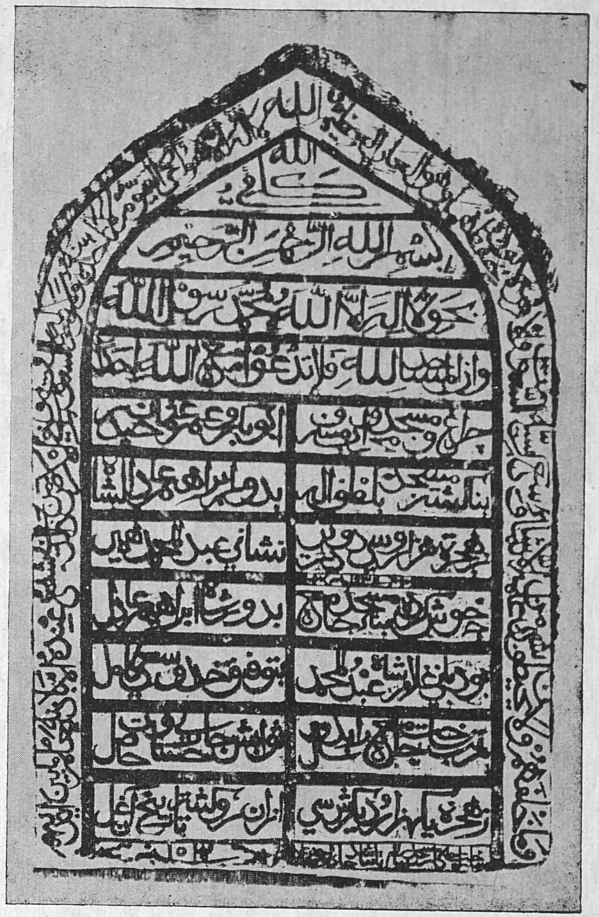
(*a*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 75)

SCALE : ·17



(*b*) Inscription of ʿAlī ʿĀdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 985, from Raichur (p. 66)

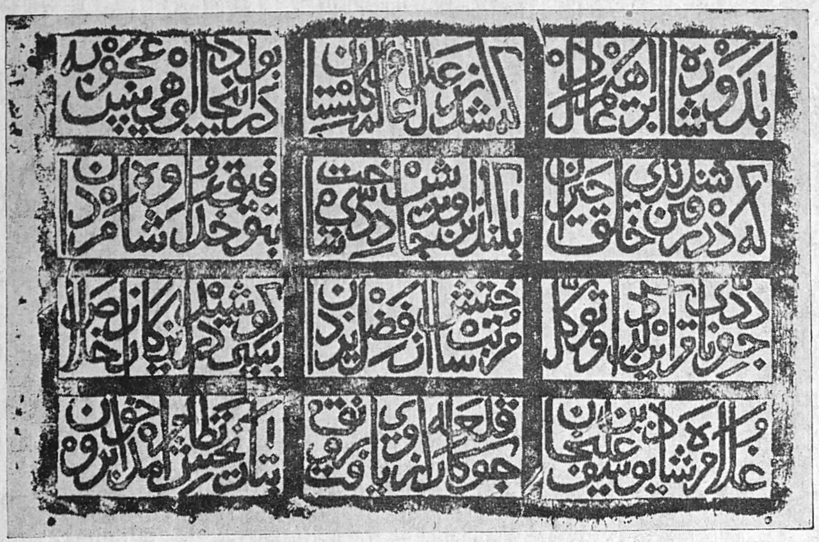
SCALE : ·07



(*c*) Another record of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 72)

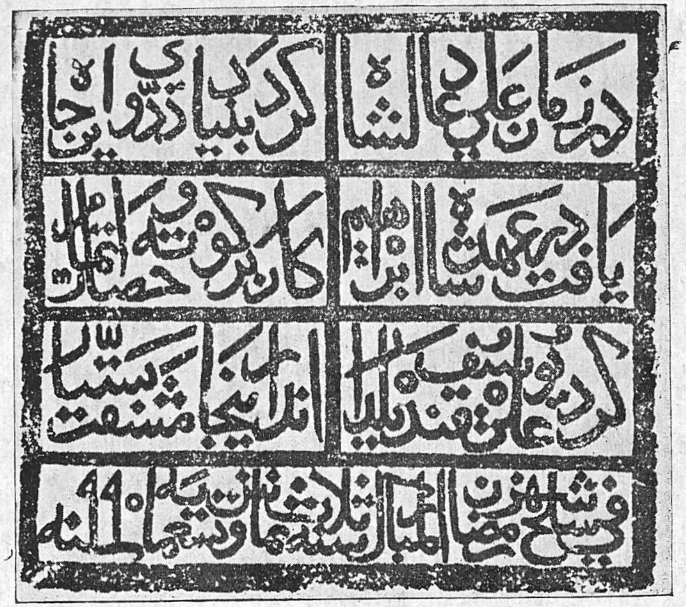
SCALE : ·08

(*a*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, dated A.H. 991, from Raichur (p. 69)



SCALE : ·12

(*b*) Another record of the same king, from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 68)



SCALE : ·15

(*c*) A third record of the same king, from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 67)

SCALE : ·07

The next three epigraphs are to be found on the *ḍiḍḍī* (small gate) and the bastion of the *parkoṭa* above it which are situated near the Banḍā-Bāolī within the rampart of the fort on the side of the Makkī gate. They refer to the construction of the *ḍiḍḍī* and a well and also to the completion of the work of the *parkoṭa* and the city-wall by an official.

The first of these three epigraphs is fixed on the southern facade of the *ḍiḍḍī*.[1] The huge slab measuring 3.5 m. by 28 cm. contains only two lines of writing in Persian verse executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The text which is carelessly composed records the construction of the *ḍiḍḍī* (small gate) and the ditch near the precipice by Yūsuf ʽAlī *qandīldār*, in the first year of the reign of Ibrāhīm ʽĀdil Shāh (II) i.e. in 1582 A.D. Incidentally this epigraph is the earliest among the hitherto published records of Ibrāhīm ʽĀdil Shāh II, his earliest inscriptions being dated A.H. 991.[2]

The builder Yūsuf ʽAlī *qandīldār* does not find mention in contemporary records. He was an official of the court of Ibrāhīm ʽĀdil Shāh II. The sobriquet *qandīldār* appended to his name in all the three rcords indicates that he was in charge of the lighting arrangements in the royal court or household.

The text [3] of the rcord reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

(۱) شاه عالم پناه ابراهیم   کو نشسته بجاے عادلشاه

دولت او همیشه افزون باد   بر سریر سپهر و حشمت و جاه

مسند او همیشه قائم باد   بطفیل علی و لطف اله

کرده اندر زمان او بنیاد   این عمارت که کس ندارد یاد

هشت خندق تا[4] کره کده (sic.) [کنده؟]   خلق ز آب حیات او زنده

(۲) دوستانش بفتح و فیروزی   دشمنانش همیشه باد تباه

هرکه کرده بناے این خندق   دارد امیدها بحضرت حق

بود یوسف علی قندیلدار   اندران وقت باعث این کار

سال تاریخ این اگر خواهی   یافت در نهصد و نود اتمام

سنه[5] ۹۹۰

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 182 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.

[2] Nāẓim, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 51, 66.

[3] Cf. Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[4] The word کره is probably कड़ा of Marathi meaning a precipice.

[5] The figure engraved is Zero, which generally indicates the number five, but here and in other epigraphs of this article it indicates zero. Also cf. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1939-40, plate Xa.

TRANSLATION

(1) The refuge of the world is king Ibrāhīm (‘Ādil Shāh II) who has succeeded ‘Ādil Shāh (i.e. ‘Alī I), may his government be ever on the increase, on the throne of the sky and dignity and pomp.

May his throne remain for ever through the favour of ‘Alī and the benevolence of Allāh !

In his reign, this building (the like of) which no one remembers was constructed.

The ditch has been dug up to the precipice ; many creatures owe their lives to its life-giving water.

(2) May his (i.e. the king's) friends be always victorious and fortunate ! May his enemies be always ruined !

He who has dug up this ditch, expects the fulfilment of his hopes from God.

At that time, Yūsuf ‘Alī *qandīldār* (i.e. the lantern-keeper) was responsible for this work.

If you desire its date, it was completed in (the year A.H.) nine hundred and ninety. Year (A.H.) 990 (1582 A.D.).

The second of the three inscriptions is fixed on the northern facade of the same *diḍḍī*.[1] It records that the *diḍḍī* (small gate) and the (nearby) well, begun in the reign of ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I, were completed along with the *parkoṭa* and the rampart in 1582 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II by Yūsuf ‘Alī *qandīldār*. As in the case of two of the previous epigraphs, the record bears two dates : 990 in figures indicating the Hijra year and its Shuhūr equivalent 983 given in words.[2]

The inscriptional slab measuring 54 by 49 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse and prose, carved in relief in *Naskh* characters, which have been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(۱) در زمان علی عادلشاه   کرد بنیاد ددی و این چاه

(۲) یافت در عهد شاه ابراهیم   کار پرکوته و حصار اتمام

(۳) کرد یوسف علی قندیلدار   اندر اینجا مشقت بسیار

(۴) فی سلخ شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ثلاث و ثمانین و تسعمایه سنه ۹۹۰

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh (I) the foundation of the *diḍḍī* and this well was laid.

(2) The construction of the *parkoṭa* and the rampart was completed in the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm (‘Ādil Shāh II).

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 181; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[2] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, reads the portion containing the date purposely as "تسعمایه تسعین" obviously to suit the date in figures, since he was confused by the date 983 in words and 990 in figures.

(3) Yūsuf 'Alī *qandildār* exeretd greatly in this place.

(4) On the last day of the month of Ramaḍān, (Shuhūr) year nine hundred and eightythree, (A.H.) 990 (30th Ramaḍān, A.H. 990, Shuhūr 983=18th October 1582 A.D.).

The third of these epigraphs is carved on a slab fixed on the bastion of the Parkoṭa-Darwāza mentioned above.[1] Its tablet measuring 85 by 55 cm. contains six Persian couplets carved in four lines in *Naskh* characters in relief. It records that since due to the lack of any passage much hardship was experienced by the public in coming and going, Yūsuf 'Alī Khān the servant of the king, constructed the *diḍḍī* after cutting out the rock in 1583 A.D. during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. This epigraph also discloses the fact that the small gate was designated *Tawakkul-Diḍḍī*.

The text[2] reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII (a)

(۱) بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل	که شد از عدل او عالم گلستان
درینجا بود کوهی بس عجوبه	(۲) که در رفتن شدندی خلق حیران
بکند آنرا و در جایش ددی ساخت	بتوفیق خدا و شاه مردان
(۳) چو نام این ددی کرد او توکل	مرتب ساختش از فضل یزدان
بسی کوشید در این کار ز اخلاص	(۴) غلام شاه دین یوسف علیخان
چو کار قلعه از وی یافت رونق	بتاریخش "نظام" آمد برو خوان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm 'Ādil (II) by whose justice the world has become (like) a garden, there was at this place a very huge rock (on account of)

(2) which people found it very difficult to go (up the mountain).

He got the rock cut out and constructed a *diḍḍī* in its place through the guidance of God and Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. 'Alī).

(3-4) Since he constructed it through the favours of God, he named it *Tawakkul-Diḍḍī*.

In this work Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, the slave of the king of the Faith, put in great efforts out of sincere devotion.

Since the work of the fort progressed on account of him, for its date, recite to him the word '(good) arrangement'.

The chronogram contained in the word *niẓām* in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.).

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 183; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[2] Cf Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

The *Dāru'l-Muṭāla'a* or the Reading Room situated inside the Kāṭī gate of the town bears two inscriptions of the same purport. The tablet containing one of them is fixed into a niche.[1] It is arch-shaped measuring 63 by 81 cm. and contains seven lines of text in Arabic prose and Persian verse which are carved in relief in ordinary *Naskh* characters. The versified text of this epigraph, like many other 'Ādil Shāhī inscriptions which betray ill-feigned attempts at poetry, is utterly hopeless, so much so that it is difficult in one or two places to catch the drift of the exact purport. The record assigns the construction of nine *miḥrābs* and a room above it (a nine-arched hall ?) to 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, the governor. It is dated 1622-23 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.

'Abdu'l-Muḥammad of this inscription is Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Malik Raiḥān, a notable grandee. Persian chronicles including the *Basātīnu's-Salāṭīn* of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī are silent about him. But he is mentioned in an inscription from Siruguppa as the *sarḥawāladār* of the fort of Adoni, the district of Raichur and the city of Muḥammad Nūr. He is also mentioned in a Telugu manuscript as having led an attack on Kurnool, now in Andhra Pradesh, where he is reported to be buried.[2]

The text[3] of the inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (b)

(a) *Around the border.*

قل اللهم مالک الملک تونے الملک من تشاء و تنزع الملک ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء

و تذل من تشاء بیدك الخیر انک علی کل شئی قدیر تولج اللیل فے النهار و تولج النهار فے اللیل

و تخرج الحی من المیت و تخرج المیت من الحی و ترزق من تشاء بغیر حساب

(b) *In the centre.*

(۱) الله کافے

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۳) ز فضل ذو الجلال شد عمارت این کمال بحرمت محمد منور است جمال

(۴) در عهد شهسواد ابراهیم عادل بنا کردند عبد المحمد امیر عامل

(۵) مزین گشت تسع محرابهاء تمام با فوق کشک نور علی نور مقام

(۶) ترقی یافت این عمارت زین سعادت رو بطرف باب الفتح با جنوب علامت

(۷) فرخست بتاریخ سال از هجرت بمرتبه یکهزار اثنی ثلثین عزت

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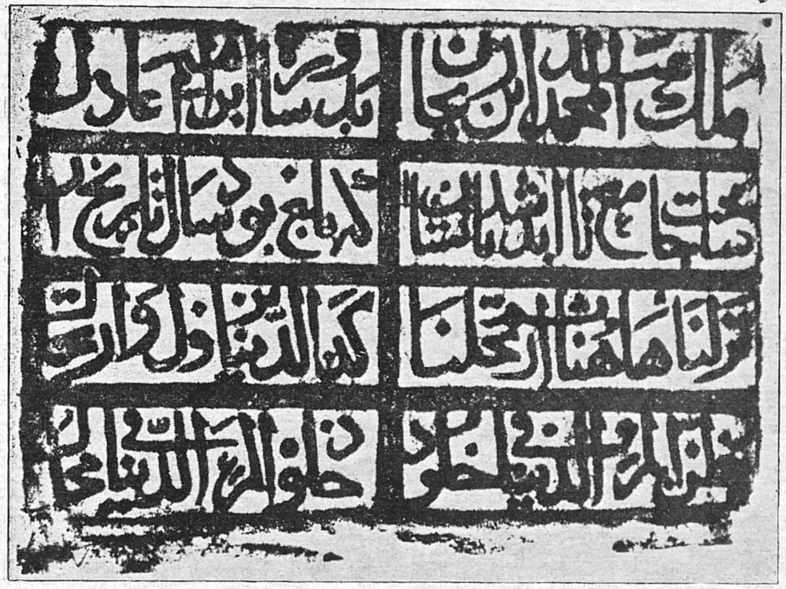
[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 129 ; Bashīru d-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[2] For details and references, see *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 41-44.

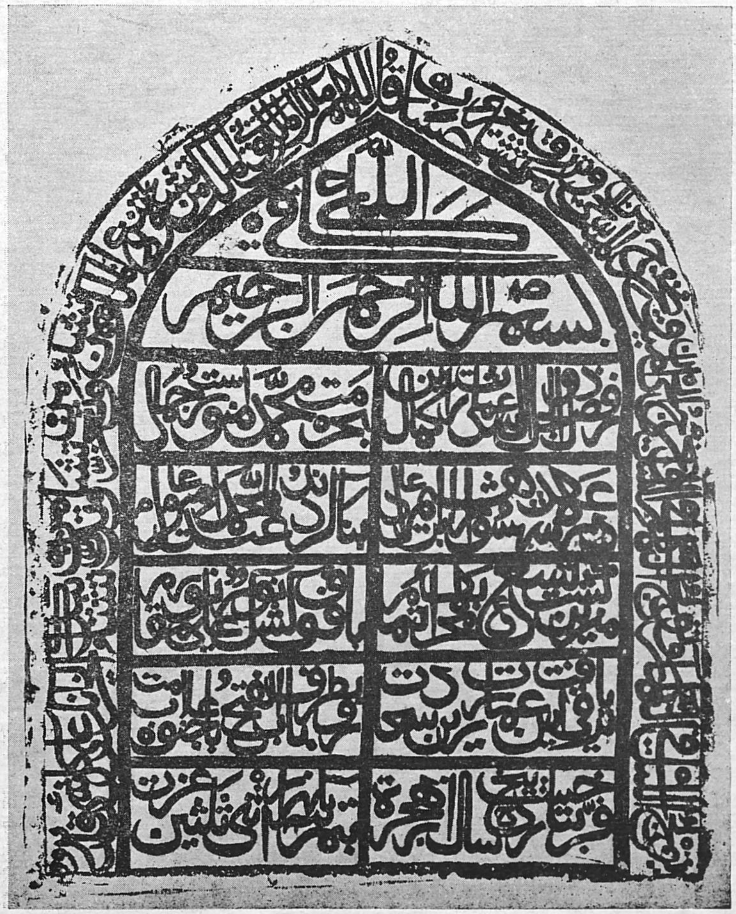
[3] Cf. Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

(*a*) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II, dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 74)



SCALE : ·26

(*b*) Another record from the same place (p. 70)



SCALE : ·14

(*c*) A third record from the same place (p. 71)

SCALE : ·125

TRANSLATION

(*a*) *Qur'ān*, chapter III, verses 25-26.

(*b*) (1) Allāh is Sufficient.

(2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(3) Through the grace of the Lord of Glory, this building reached perfection (i.e. was completed); by the sanctity of (the Prophet) Muḥammad, (its) beauty is resplendant.

(4) In the reign of the champion Ibrāhīm 'Ādil (Shāh II), it was founded by the governor 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

(5) The nine arches were completely decorated. With a pavilion on the top (it has become) a place with light upon light (i.e. it further added to the beauty of the place).

(6) This building attained ascendence on account of this good fortune that it faces the *Bābu'l-Fatḥ* (lit. the gate of victory) facing south.

(7) Its auspicious date according to the Hijra year has the dignity and honour of being one thousand and thirtytwo.

The other record in the *Dāru'l-Muṭāla'a* is carved on a rectangular tablet measuring 32 by 83 cm. which is fixed in another niche.[1] Its text comprises ten lines of writing in Persian verse and prose carved in relief in *Naskh* characters. It contains the same purport as in above, but here the building is spoken of as 'a lofty palace' and the date is given in figure as well as in chronogram, the numerical value of each letter of which is also inscribed. The record further states that the building was newly founded, there having been no previous construction on the site except the fort-wall. It may be noted that the poetry of this epigraph is much better than that of the previous record.

Its text[2] has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (c)

(۱) بنائی چنین قصر عالی مشید

(۲) ۲ - ۵۰ - ۱ - ۱ - ۱۰ - ۳ - ۵۰ - ۱۰ - ۵۰ - ۱۰۰ - ۹۰ - ۲۰۰ - ۷۰ -

۱ - ۳۰ - ۱۰ - ۴۰ - ۲۰۰ - ۱۰ - ۴=سنه ۱۰۳۲

(۳) بماناد چون طاق گردون مؤبد

(۴) بدور براهیم عادل شهنشه

(۵) مهیا شد از طبع عبد المحمد

(۶) چو خواهی بتاریخ این پی بری

(۷) بکن عد مصراع اول چو ابجد

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 130 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[2] Cf. Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*

(۸) بر ضمایر بلا نظایر متعاقبان اهل زمانه معلوم باد که این عمارت را

(۹) اساس و بنیاد نهاده بنای معلی ساخته اند و پیش ازین عمارت

(۱۰) محض دیوار حصار بود هیچ عمارت نبود و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) *May the building of such a lofty (and) strong palace—*

(2) 2+50+1+1+10+3+50+10+50+100+90+200+70+1+30+10+40+300+10+4= Year (A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.)—

(3) endure for ever just like the revolving vault (of the sky) !

(4) In the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil, the emperor,

(5) it came into existence through the genius of 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

(6) If you desire to find out its date,

(7) count (the values of letters in) the first hemistich according to the *Abjad* system.

(8) May it be known to the incomparable minds of the coming generations of the people of the time that this edifice

(9) is founded and built and a lofty building is constructed, while prior to this, the building (on this site)

(10) consisted only of the rampart of the fort, and there was no other building. And peace !

The Jāmi' mosque inside the fort of the town contains two epigraphs of which one is fixed into its left *miḥrāb*.[1] It belongs to the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The arch-shaped slab on which it is engraved in ordinary *Naskh* letters in relief measures 88 cm. by 1.4 m. Apart from religious texts, the epigraph contains two chronograms in Persian verse, which again furnish example of hopeless versification. According to one of the chronograms, the construction began in 1620-21 A. D. and according to the other, it ended in 1622-23 A.D. It is also stated that the Jāmi' mosque was constructed within a period of two years during the reign of Ibrāhīm by 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad. The epigraph also names Rājā as the mason who carried out the job.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

(*a*) *Border around.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القیوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض

من ذالذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئی من علمه

الا بما شاء و سع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یوده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 135 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

(*b*) *Main portion.*

(۱) الله کافی

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۳) بحق لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۴) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۵) چراغ و مسجد و محراب و منبر   ابو بکر و عمر عثمان [و] حیدر

(۶) بنا گشته مسجد بلطف اله   بدور ابراهیم عادالشاه

(۷) ز هجرت هزار وسی دو درین   نشانی عبد المحمد همین

سنه ۱۰۳۲

---

(۸) چه خوش کرده بناء مسجد جامع   بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل

(۹) بود بانی غلام شاه عبد المحمد   بتوفیق خدا و سعی کامل

(۱۰) مرتب ساخت جامع را بدو سال   ثوابش جاری و حسنات حاصل

(۱۱) ز هجرت یکهزار و دیگرش سی   ازان رو گشته تاریخ آن غل

سنه ۱۰۳۰

---

(۱۲) ساخت راجا کار مسجد را تمام   تا بباشد جای او جنت مقام

TRANSLATION

(*a*) *Qur'ān*, chapter II, verses 255-56.

(*b*) (1) Allāh is Sufficient. In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) For the sake of 'There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.'

(3) 'And surely, the mosque are for Allāh ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.'[1]

(4) Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Ḥaidar (i.e. 'Alī) are (like unto) the lamp, mosque, prayer-niche and pulpit.

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(5) The mosque was constructed by the grace of God in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh.

(6) The year was one thousand and thirtytwo of Hijra. Year (A.H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.). This is a memento of 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

---

(7) What a beautiful Jāmi' mosque has been constructed in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh!

(8) The slave of the king (namely), 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad is its builder (who constructed it) through the guidance of God and with great efforts.

(9) He built the Jāmi' mosque within two years. Its meritorious service has now started, and the good deeds are being achieved (by offering prayers therein).

(10) It (i.e. the date of the foundation) was the year one thousand and thirty more; hence its date is found (in the word) *ghill*.[1] Year (A. H.) 1030 (1620-21 A. D.).

---

(11) Rājā has brought to completion the work of the mosque in the hope that his abode (after death) would be Paradise.

The other inscription in the same mosque is also dated in the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. It comprises two couplets each in Persian and Arabic and is executed in *Naskh* characters on a rectangular tablet measuring 36 by 24 cm. which is fixed into the niche above the left *miḥrāb*.[2] The Persian fragment which is yet another example of poor versification records that Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, constructed the Jāmi' mosque as his everlasting memento. The date according to the chronogram in the last hemistich is 1622-23 A. D. The Arabic text comprises two well-known verses on the transitoriness of human life.

The full text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(۱) ملک عبد المحمد ابن ریحان   بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل

(۲) ساخت جامع تا ابد باشد نشان   که بلغ بود سال تاریخ آن

---

(۳) نزلنا هاهنا ثم ار تحلنا   کذ الدنیا نزول و ارتحال

(۴) یظن المرء فی الدنیا خلود (sic.)   خلود المرء فی الدنیا محال

TRANSLATION

(1) Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh

---

[1] The word '*ghill*' means 'secret hatred, malice, enmity, envy,' etc. The use of this word for a chronogram reflects the ignoronce of the composer.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 136 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

(2) constructed the Jāmi' mosque so that it may remain as a memento (for him) till eternity (and) the date of (its) construction is (contained in the word :) *Balligh*. (A. H. 1032=1622-23 A.D.).

---

(3) We alighted here (in this world) and again we departed. Such is the world : To arrive and to depart.

(4) Man thinks of perpetuity in the world, (but) the perpetuity of man in the world is impossible.

Yet another inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II is to be found over the entrance of the *dargāh* of Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Mīr Ḥasan situated near the above Jāmi' mosque.[1] The record does not appear to be *in situ* as it records the construction of an *ambār-khāna* (granary) by the same 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad in 1622-23 A. D. The tablet bearing the epigraph measures 34 by 58 cm. The language is Persian verse of mediocre quality, and the style of writing is *Naskh*.

Its text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) الله کافی

(۲) ز فیض ذو الجلال شد انبار خانه

(۳) که من فی السماء رزقکم پیمانه

(۴) در عهد شهنشاه براهیم عادل

(۵) منور شد مقام رزق کامل

(٦) که بلغ بود سال الف و اثنی ثلثین

(۷) بنا کردند عبد المحمد دران حین

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is sufficient.

(2) Through the favour of the Lord of Glory, (this) granary was constructed.

(3) whose measure is 'whatever is in the heaven is your sustenance'.[2]

(4) In the reign of the king of kings Ibrāhīm 'Ādil,

(5) this place of complete sustenance (i.e. the granary) was decorated (i.e. built).

(6) It was the year (whose chronogram is given by the word :) *Balligh* (yielding A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.).

(7) At that time it was constructed by 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 183 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[2] The Arabic phrase is adapted from the Quranic text, chapter LI, verse 22.

The only inscription of Muḥammad ʻĀdil Shāh in the present group is fixed over the main gate of the Jāmiʻ mosque in Ṣarrāf Bazār outside the fort.[1] The inscriptional slab measuring 1.18 m. by 63 cm. contains religious texts in Arabic and a poetical fragment in Persian which are executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to the same ʻAbdu'l-Muḥammad.

The work was started during the reign of Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh II and completed in A. H. 1038 (1628-29 A.D.) during the reign of Abu'n-Naṣr Sulṭān Maḥmūd by whom evidently Muḥammad ʻĀdil Shāh is intended. This may be a mistake of the composer or the scribe. It will be observed that the date quoted in words in the left side of the slab is prefixed by the pharse *shuhūr sana* which should here be taken literally and not in the sense of Shuhūr year, since in the text the same year is quoted in words as of Hijra era.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV (a)

(*a*) *Border around the arch.*

يا ايها الذين آمنو اذا نودى للصلوة من يوم الجمعة فاسعوالى ذكر الله و زر (.sic) البيع

ذالكم خيرلكم ان كنتم تعلمون

(*b*) *Main portion.*

(۱) الله كافى

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الا [ا]لله محمد رسول الله

(۳) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۴) بنا شد مسجد بر دين احمد شده بانى او عبد المحمد

(۵) بدور شاه ابراهيم عادل روان شد كار او بيحصر و بيحد

(٦) ز هجرت يكهزار وسى و هشت است كه شد مسجد مرتب وقت اسعد

(۷) بوقت بو النصر سلطان محمود ز بهر مومنان ثواب بيعد

(*c*) *Right side.*

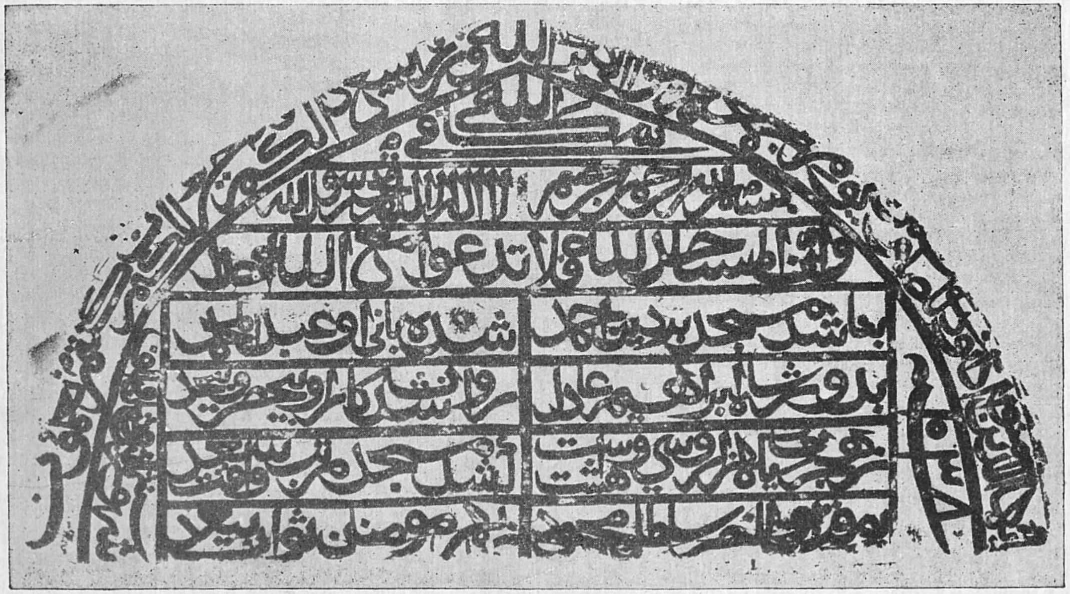
سنه ۱۰۳۸

(*d*) *Left side.*

شهور سنه ثلاثين و ثمان و الف

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 147 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

(*a*) Inscription of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh, dated A.H. 1038, from Raichur (p. 76)



SCALE : ·11

(*b*) Inscription of Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh, dated A.H. 1084, from Raichur (p. 77)

SCALE : ·08

TRANSLATION

(*a*) *Qur'ān*, chapter LXll, verse 9.

(*b*) (1) Allāh is sufficient.

(2) In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.

(3) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh ; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.'[1]

(4) The mosque is constructed in accordance with the religion of Aḥmad (Prophet Muḥammad) ; its builder is 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

(5) In the regin of the king Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, its construction was commenced without any restriction or impediment.

(6) Now the year is one thousand and thirtyeight from the Migration (of the Prophet) when the mosque is completed at a most auspicious time

(7) during the reign of Bu'n-Naṣr sulṭān Maḥmūd (*recte*, Muḥammad) (to ensure) unlimited reward for the believers.

(*c*) Year (A. H.) 1038 (1628-29 A. D.).

(*d*) In the months of the year one thousand and thirtyeight.

The last inscription of the present study pertains to the reign of Sikandar the last 'Ādil Shāhī ruler. It is fixed on the facade of the Sikandarī gate of the fort, situated near the *dargāh* of Sayyid Abdāl Ḥusainī.[2] The huge inscriptional slab measuring 2·85 m. by 35 cm. contains three Persian couplets arranged in a single-line and carved in relief in *Naskh* characters of perfect workmanship. The calligraphy seems to have been designed by an expert, whose name unfortunately is not quoted. In fact, it is the only record in the group which is calligraphically so pleasing. The text records that the gate was constructed in the reign of sulṭān Sikandar Qādirī by Āqā Khusraw, the slave of the king in the year 1673-74 A. D. This record is important in that it is the one of the only three known records of this king. The other two records dated A.H. 1084 and A.H. 1096 were found at Gulbarga and Miraj respectively.[3]

The builder Āqā Khusraw, who also finds mention in an earlier record from Raichur,[4] played an important role during the reigns of 'Alī Ādil Shāh II and Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh. In the reign of the former the unsuccessful rebellion of Sīdī Jauhar entitled Ṣalābat Khān was followed by the revolt of the *qal'adār* of Raichur, a partisan of the latter. But by the time 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh reached Raichur, the loyal garrison arrested the *qal'adār* and surrendered the fort to the king. 'Alī 'Ādil then appointed Āqā Khusraw as the *qal'adār* in A. H. 1072. Āqā Khusraw seems to have held this post at least till A. H. 1088. He ultimately rose to occupy the post of the prime-minister in March 1684 A. D., but died after about seven months.[5]

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV (b)

در زمان خسرو سلطان سکندر قادرے   شد مہیا کار این دهلیز باصنعتگرے

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 184 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[3] *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 8 ; *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 92 ; *ibid.*, 1962-63, No. D, 127.

[4] *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 22.

[5] For particulars, see Zubairī, *op. cit.*, pp. 386, 464-67, 524, etc.

چون تامل کردم از تاریخ آن گفتا خرد   گو در فرخ و زین تاریخ ختمش بنگرے

بانے این کار آقا خسرو غلام شاه را   کن بلطف خویش یارب روز محشر یاورے

TRANSLATION

In the reign of the king, Sulṭān Sikandar Qādirī, the work of this gate (lit. threshold) was completed with artistic skill.

When I thought over its date, Wisdom said, 'Say, (it is) the *auspicious gate* and find in this, the date of its completion'.

O Lord! On the day of Resurrection, through your kindness, help the builder of this work Āqā Khusraw, the slave of the king.

The chronogram yields A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).

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